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MANNERS

OF THE

ANCIENT ISRAELITES:

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR

PECULIAR CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES,

THEIR

LAWS, POLITY, RELIGION, SECTS, ARTS AND TRADES, DIVISIONS OF TIME, WARS, CAPTIVITIES, &c.

WITH A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE

ANCIENT AND MODERN SAMARITANS,

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN FRENCH BY

CLAUDE FLEURY,

ABBE OF ARGENTEUIL, AND MEMBER OF ROYAL ACADEMY, PARIS

THE WHOLE MUCH ENLARGED FROM THE PRINCIPAL WRITERS ON JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BY ADAM CLARKE, LL. D. F. S. A.

FROM THE SECOND LONDON EDITION.

NEW-YORK:

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PREFACE

TO

MANNERS OF THE ANCIENT ISRAELITES.

Every attempt to illustrate the Bible, the oldest and most important book in the world, a book that has God for its *Author*, and the eternal happiness of the human race for its *end*, deserves the most serious attention of all those who profess the Christian religion.

It is granted on all hands that this book has many difficulties; but this is not peculiar to the Jewish Scriptures: all ancient writings are full of them: and these difficulties are generally in proportion to the antiquity of such writings; for the customs, manners, and language of mankind are continually changing; and were it not for the help received from the records of succeeding ages, which are only accessible to the learned, many valuable works of primitive times must have remained in impenetrable obscurity. Scholars and critics have exerted themselves in the most laudable manner to remove or elucidate the difficulties occurring in ancient authors; and (thanks to their industry) they have rendered the study of these writers not only easy but delightful; and brought the literature of ancient Greece

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and Rome within the reach even of our children.

But the *heathen writers* have not been the *only* objects of regard in the grand system of critical disquisition. A host of the most eminent scholars that ever graced the republic of letters, or ennobled the human character, have carefully read, and diligently studied, the *sacred writings;* have felt their beauties, and prized their excellences; and, by their learned and pious works, have not only recommended them to mankind at large, but rendered them useful to all who wish to read *so* as to understand. Some of these have been addressed to the infidel, others to the scholar, and some to the plain unlettered Christian. The number of the latter, it is true, has not been great; but what is deficient in quantity, is supplied by the very accurate information they impart. Such works want only to be generally known, to become universally esteemed.

In the first rank of such writers the *Abbé Fleury* and *Father Lamy* stand highly and deservedly distinguished; the former by his treatise entitled *Mœurs des Israelites*, (the book now before the reader,) and the latter by his well known work called *Apparatus Biblicus*. The former is the most useful treatise on the subject I have ever met with.

In 1756 the *Mœurs des Israelites* was translated by the Rev. *Ellis Farneworth*, and dedicated to the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. How it was received I cannot tell, being long

before my time; but if it sold in proportion to the merit of the work, and the fidelity of the execution, a considerable number must soon have been disposed of. When I first thought of preparing a new edition of this work for the public, I intended to retranslate the original; but on reading over the translation of Mr. Farneworth, I was satisfied that a better one, on the whole, could scarcely be hoped for. In general the language is simple, pure, and elegant; and both the spirit and unction of the original are excellently preserved. I therefore made no scruple to adopt it, reserving to myself the liberty to correct what I thought amiss, and to add such notes as I judged necessary to the fuller elucidation of the work.

As some judicious friends thought the original work rather too concise, and hinted that several useful additions might be made to it on the same plan, I was naturally led to turn to *Father Lamy* for materials, whose work above mentioned I considered as ranking *next* to that of the *Abbé Fleury*. From Mr. *Bundy's* edition, much of the *fourth* part of the present volume is extracted. Those points which I suppose the *Abbé* had treated too concisely to make intelligible, I have considered more at large; and some subjects of importance, which he had totally omitted, I have here introduced. To the whole I have added a *copious index*, by which any subject discussed in the work may at once be referred to. I have now rea-

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son to hope that every serious Christian, of whatever denomination, will find this volume a faithful and pleasant guide to a thorough understanding of all the customs and manners, civil and religious, of that *people* to whom God originally intrusted the sacred oracles. Without a proper knowledge of these, it is impossible to see the reasonableness and excellence of that worship, and those ceremonies, which God himself originally established among the Israelites; and by which he strongly prefigured that glorious revelation under which we have the happiness to live.

The late excellent bishop of Norwich, Dr. Horne, recommends this work in the following terms:—"This little book contains a *concise, pleasing*, and just account of the *manners, customs, laws, polity*, and *religion* of the Israelites. It is an excellent introduction to the reading of the Old Testament, and should be put into the hands of every young person."—*Discourses*, vol. i.

This recommendation will have its due weight both with the *learned* and the *pious*.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The former edition of this work has been received by the British public with such flattering marks of approbation as are highly honourable to the memory of its excellent author. In no common case has the public opinion been more correctly formed, nor more unequivocally expressed. The editor, too, has had his share of the public approbation; and takes this opportunity of acknowledging his grateful sense of the praise bestowed on his part of the work. Actuated solely by the desire of doing good to his countrymen, and especially to the plain unlettered Christian, he undertook a work from which he *neither expected nor received any kind of emolument.* He has, however, been amply rewarded by the *satisfactory consciousness* of having endeavoured to promote the study of those *living oracles* which *testify of Jesus*, and *the conviction* that his labour has been crowned with success.

When he found, from the rapid sale of the first, that a second edition would soon be called for, believing the work susceptible of still farther improvements, and consequently of being more useful to the public, he determined to spare no pains to render it fully worthy of

that patronage by which it has been already so highly favoured. Having now accomplished his design, as far as circumstances would permit, he thinks it proper to inform the reader what has been done, in order to furnish him with additional pleasure and instruction.

1. The translation has been collated with three copies of the original: the *first edition*, published by the Abbé Paris, 1681, 12mo; The Paris edition of 1736, 12mo, with additional references; and that in the OPUSCULES *de M. L'Abbé Fleury*, tome i, *à Nismes*, 1780, 5 vols. 8vo. This collation has given rise to inumerable alterations and improvements of the translation.

2. The references not only to the Scriptures, but also to the Greek and Latin writers, have been collated with the authors themselves, and a multitude of errors have been corrected which had been increasing with every edition of the work.

3. To render these references more serviceable to the reader, many of them have been produced at full length, accompanied with an English translation, where the matter appeared to be of considerable importance.

4. A great variety of notes have been added to illustrate and confirm what is advanced in the text, and to make the meaning more easy to be understood.

5. Some supplementary chapters have been inserted, viz., *On the Hebrew Poetry.—Instruments of Music among the ancient Hebrews.—*

Hindoo and Mohammedan fasts, purifications, &c., to illustrate those of the ancient Jews.—*A short History of the ancient and modern Samaritans,* which was certainly a desideratum in the former editions, together with a short sketch of the *present state of the Jews,* and a copy of their ancient *Liturgy.*

6. To the work a *Life of the Author* is prefixed, which had not been done in the former English editions, and which, though short, will, it is hoped, serve to bring the reader more particularly acquainted with the amiable spirit of this excellent man.

On the whole, the editor hopes the work will now more effectually answer the purpose for which it was formed, viz., to render the study of the Bible improving and delightful; and thus, especially to the young and inexperienced, prove an antidote against deism, irreligion, and impiety of all sorts. For he thinks it would be impossible even for a *prejudiced* mind to read over the history of this ancient people, and compare their political and ecclesiastical state with that of any other nation upon earth, without being convinced that they had statutes and judgments such as no other people could boast of, and such as the human mind could never have devised for itself: in short, that God was among them of a truth, and that *they were the people of his pasture,* and *the sheep of his hand.*

N. B. The notes which I have borrowed from Mr. Farneworth, I have marked with E. F.

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THE

ABBÉ FLEURY.

Those who have profited by the works of the learned and pious, naturally wish to know who the persons were from whom they have received so much instruction; and are glad to meet with any account of lives which they know must have been spent, not only innocently, but usefully. This disposition, so natural to man, has been deeply studied by the inspired writers; hence their works abound with biography and biographical anecdotes; and thus truth teaches not only by precept, but also by example, and hereby seems to assume a body and render itself palpable. Of the Abbé Fleury I have been able to meet with few anecdotes which can be particularly interesting to the pious reader, as most accounts which have been hitherto published of him relate chiefly to his literary history. The following memoirs, which I have collected from the most authentic sources, are, I must confess, very scanty, but they are such as cannot fail to give some pleasure to those who are admirers of the immortal work to which they are prefixed.

Claude Fleury, in Latin, *Claudius Florus*, was born at Paris, Dec. 6, 1640. He was son of a lawyer, originally of the diocess of Rouen, and was brought up to the bar. In 1658, he was received advocate to the parliament in Paris, in which employment he continued for nine years, devoting all his time to the study of jurisprudence and the belles-lettres, in which he made uncommon proficiency. This kind of life not entirely suiting his natural inclination, which was gentle, peaceable, and benevolent, he abandoned it, doveted himself to the study of theology, entered into the ecclesiastical state, and soon arrived at the order of priesthood.

From this time he devoted himself solely to thestudy of the sacred writings, divinity, ecclesiastical history, the canon law, and the works of the fathers. He confined himself, for a considerable time, to these studies *alone*, from a persuasion that they were most suitable to his clerical functions, and that a more extensive range in the sciences, by diffusing the attention too much, must render the judgment and understanding less profound.

His deep piety and solid learning gained him great reputation: and Lewis XIV., who was well qualified to discern great and useful talents, and well knew who to employ them, made him preceptor to the princes of *Conti* in 1672, whom he caused to be educated with the dauphin his son. These princes were, *Lewis Armand* and *Francis Lewis*, son of *Armand de*

Bourbon, prince of Conti, and chief of that illustrious family.

The fidelity and accuracy with which this amiable man discharged the duties of his office in this important business procured him another pupil from the royal family, for in 1680 the king made him preceptor to the prince *de Vermandois*, admiral of France, one of his legitimated natural sons; but this prince died in 1683.

In 1684, the king, highly pleased with his fidelity and success in the office of preceptor to the princes, gave him the abbey of *Loc-Dieu*, in the diocess of Rhodes: and in 1689 he appointed him subpreceptor to his three grandchildren, Lewis, duke of *Burgundy;* Philip, duke of *Anjou;* and Charles, duke of *Berri*, sons of the *dauphin*. In this important employment he was associated with that most accomplished scholar, and most amiable of men, Monsieur *Fenelon*, afterward archbishop of Cambray. Like his assistant, the Abbé Fleury had a happy art of rendering virtue amiable by connecting delight with instruction, and of making the precepts of religion pleasant by exemplifying them in a placid, steady, and upright conduct. Thus precept and example went hand in hand, and mutually supported each other. Never had pupils greater advantages; and never were teachers more revered by their pupils. Lewis, duke of Burgundy, became dauphin, April 14, 1711, and died Feb. 18, 1712. Philip, duke of Anjou, became king of Spain in 1700, with the title of Philip V.

In 1696 the French academy chose him for one of its forty members: the highest literary honour in France—a choice due to the merit of Abbé Fleury, and which was at the time an honour to the academy itself.

The studies of the three princes being ended in 1706, the king, who knew as well how to reward merit as to distinguish it, presented him with the priory of *Notre Dame d'Argenteuil*, in the diocess of Paris: but this learned and conscientious man, an exact observer of the canons, (which indeed he had made a particular object of study,) gave a rare example of disinterestedness in delivering up into the hands of the king the abbey of *Loc-Dieu*, which he refused to hold in conjunction with his priory! an example which, in the present day, we may hope in vain to find, as sinecures and pluralities are sought after with an extreme avidity, every one seeking his gain from his own quarter, and never saying in his heart, It is enough.

In 1716 the duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom, made him confessor to the young king, Lewis XV, son to the duke of Burgundy. In this important employment he continued till 1722, when his age and infirmities obliged him to give it up. Had it not been well known that the abbé had executed the office of preceptor to the father with the strictest zeal and integrity, we may rest assured that he never would have been intrusted with the dearest interests of the son, and indeed those of the whole French nation. This was the highest eulogium

that could possibly be given of the merit of this extraordinary man. For many years he had been in the very high road to preferment, but his deadness to the world induced him steadily to avoid any farther advancement; and being completely satisfied with his priory, he refused to have any thing in addition.

Though he lived in the midst of a court where pleasure reigned, and rational devotion to God was unfashionable; yet he steadily pursued his course, and lived in the centre of fashion and folly, as if he had been in the inmost recesses of a cell, constantly refusing the slightest compliance with any thing that was not conformed to the purest principles of the Gospel of Christ.

Having spent a long life in exemplary piety, and laborious usefulness, he died of an apoplexy, July 14, 1723, in the eighty-third year of his age.

On his death several of the academicians signalized themselves by eulogiums to his memory: a few extracts from which will show in what estimation he was held by that learned body. Mr. *Adam*, who was chosen to succeed him in the academy, speaks of him in the following terms in his inaugural discourse, delivered before that august assembly, Dec. 2, 1723:—

"Where shall we find so many inestimable qualities united in one person? An excellent understanding cultivated with intense labour; profound knowledge; a heart full of uprightness: not only innocent in his manners, but

leading a simple, laborious, and edifying life, always accompanied with sincere modesty: an admirable disinterestedness, an unfailing regularity of conduct, and perfect fidelity in the performance of his duty; in a word, an assemblage of all those talents and virtues which constitute the scholar, the honest man, and the Christian."

In answer to Mr. *Adam*, the *Abbé de Roquette* spoke of this great man in the same high strain of justly merited panegyric. "We shall always deplore the loss of our late pious, learned, and illustrious associate. Nothing can obliterate the strong impression which his virtues have made on our minds. Candour, uprightness, affability, meekness, and strict probity seemed to constitute the very essence of his soul. Nature had lavished her choicest talents on his mind; and study had put him in possession of the riches of knowledge. In him a solid judgment was combined with profound penetration. An exquisite taste in every department of literature, with a vast and retentive memory: and a fertile genius with an infatigable ardour for application. To these gifts of *nature* let us add those which he received from *grace:* a sincere and intelligent piety; an ardent and insatiable thirst after truth; an unbounded love to mankind, and the most scrupulous fidelity in the discharge of every duty imposed by religion; a contempt of honour, and detachment from perishing riches, the love of solitude even in the midst of the pomps of

a court; and to sum up the whole, a pure, exemplary, and irreproachable life." Such truly was the Abbé Fleury, and such the serious reader will perceive him to be in every page of the following inestimable work.

Beside the "Manners of the Israelites," and the "Manners of the Primitive Christians," the Abbé Fleury published many other works, the principal of which is his *Ecclesiastical History*, 20 vols. 12mo, or 13 4to, the first volume of which was published in 1691, and the last in 1722: it takes in the history of the Church from the birth of our Lord to the year 1414. The author designed to have brought it down to his own times, but was prevented by his death, which took place the following year. It was long well received by the public, and is in general a truly excellent work, but it is now become almost obsolete, the public having decided in favour of similar works perhaps a little more accurate in some dates and facts, but much less *spiritual*, and consequently better adapted to the depraved reigning taste of the times. His *Historical Catechism*, published first in 1683, 12mo, is also a very valuable work: it has gone through various editions, and has been translated into several languages. All his smaller works, which contain about *forty* different treatises, have been collected into 5 vols. 8vo, and published at Nismes, 1780, under the title, *Opuscules de M. l'Abbé Prieur d'Argenteuil, et confesseur du Roi Louis XV.* This edition was printed to accompany a new

edition of the *Ecclesiastical History*, published at the same place in 25 vols. 8vo. Great, pious, and useful as the Abbé Fleury was in his life, his name would have long since been extinct, had he left no writings behind him: by these his memory has been embalmed, and his fame is become imperishable. Every new edition is, so to speak, a resurrection of this learned and pious man; and by the diffusion of his works he who was during his lifetime necessarily confined in courts among the great, becomes introduced to every department of society, teaching piety to God and benevolence to men by his most excellent precepts and amiable spirit. It is to be lamented that no account has been given to the public of the religious experience of this eminent man, nor of his last moments. As his life was holy and useful, his end must have been peace: thus far we may safely conjecture.

The testimonies of his contemporaries speak much for him; and his unspotted life confirms all that his warmest friends have said of his sincere and unaffected piety. His religion was such as to emit a steady and brillant light in the midst of a court which at that time had attained the acme of worldly glory. Yet even there the man of God was distinguished, and all were obliged to own that the glory of that kingdom which is not of this world infinitely exceeds all the splendours which can possibly adorn the most illustrious kingdoms of the universe. Reader, give God the glory due to his

name for the light which in his eternal mercy he has caused to shine in a *dark place*, as a testimony to his power and goodness: and let this example encourage thee to confess thy Lord amid a crooked and perverse generation, among whom, if thou be not wanting to thyself, thou mayest shine as a light in the world.

Manchester, December 12, 1804.

Let us pray, while salvation to us is declared,
For faith to be mixed with the word:
That falling on ground, by devotion prepared,
It may not be unfruitful when head.
And O, that a dew from the Lord may descend,
To rest in abundance on all;
For without it no blessings the Gospel attend,
Though preached by Apolles or Paul.

MANNERS OF THE ISRAELITES.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

The Design of this Treatise.

The people whom God chose to preserve the true religion till the promulgation of the gospel, are an excellent model of that way of living, which is most conformable to nature. We see in their customs the most rational method of subsisting, employing one's self, and living in society; and from thence may learn, not only lessons of morality, but rules for our conduct both in public and private life.

Yet these customs are so different from our own, that at first sight they offend us. We do not see among the Israelites those titles of nobility, that multitude of employments, or diversity of conditions, which are to be found among us. They are only husbandmen and and shepherds, all working with their own hands, all married, and looking upon a great number of children as the must valuable blessing. The distinction of meats, of clean and unclean animals, with their frequent purifications, seem to us as so many troublesome ceremonies: and their bloody sacrifices quite disgust us. We observe, moreover, that these

people were prone to idolatry, and, for that reason, are often reproached in Scripture for their perverseness and hardness of heart; and, by the fathers of the church, for being stupid and carnally minded. All this, joined to a general prejudice, that what is most ancient is always most imperfect, easily influences us to believe that these men were brutish and ignorant, and their customs more worthy of contempt than admiration.*

And this is one reason why the Holy Scriptures, especially those of the Old Testament, are so much neglected, or read to so little purpose. Several well-meaning people, who have not quite got over such prejudices are discouraged by the outward appearance of these strange customs; and either impute the whole, without distinction, to the imperfection of the old law; or imagine that some mysteries beyond their comprehension are concealed under these external appearances. Others, for want of faith, or uprightness of heart, are tempted, upon such pretences, to despise the Scripture

* It would not be difficult to prove that the major part, if not the whole of the animals, the eating of whose flesh was forbidden under the Mosaic law, are unfit for the purposes of nutrition. Blood, which is so often and so solemnly forbidden, affords a most gross and innutritive aliment. The laws relative to lepers and other infected persons, and those which forbade contract with dead or putrid carcasses, were wisely ordered to prevent the reception and diffusion of contagion. Their frequent washings, and bathings also, had the most direct tendency to promote health and ensure a long and comfortable life.

itself, as full of mean and trivial matters; or draw wrong conclusions from it to countenance their own vices.

But, upon comparing the manners of the Israelites with those of the Romans, Greeks, Egyptians, and other people of former ages, which we hold in the highest veneration these prejudices soon vanish. We observe a noble simplicity in them, greatly preferable to all refinements; that the Israelites had every thing that was valuable in the customs of their contemporaries, without many of their defects, and a great advantage over them in understanding (what ought to be our chief aim in this life) the nature of that true religion, which is the foundation of morality.

We must learn then to distinguish what is only offensive to us in their customs from what is really blameworthy; what we do not like upon account of the distance of times and places, though it be in itself indifferent, from that which, being good in itself, displeases us for no other reason than because we are corrupt in our manners. For, most of the difference betwixt us and them does not proceed from our being more enlightened by Christianity, but from our being less guided by reason. The Christian religion did not introduce this great inequality of conditions, this disdain of labour, this eagerness for diversions, this authority of women and young people, this aversion from a simple and frugal life, which make us differ so much from the ancients. It would

have been much easier to have made good Christians of those shepherds and ploughmen, which we see in their history, than of our courtiers, lawyers, or farmers of the revenue, and many others that spent their lives in an idle and discontented poverty.

Let it be observed that I do not pretend to make a panegyric upon this people; but to give a very plain account, like that of travellers who have seen far distant countries: I shall describe what is good, bad, or indifferent, just as it is, and only desire the reader to divest himself of all prejudice, that he may judge of these customs by good sense and right reason alone; to discard the ideas that are peculiar to his own age and country, and consider the Israelites in the circumstances of time and place wherein they lived; to compare them with their nearest neighbours, and by that means to enter into their spirit and maxims. We must indeed be entire strangers to history not to see the great difference which distance of time and place occasions in people's manners. We inhabit the same country which the ancient Britons, and afterward the Romans, dwelt in: and yet how much do we vary from both in their way of living; nay, even from that of our own countrymen who lived seven or eight hundred years ago.* And at present

* Who would imagine that the present inhabitants of Great Britain, who spend so much time and money in unmeaning, useless, and ridiculous modes of *dress*, are the descendants of a race of people who, in the

what likeness is there between our customs and those of the Turks, Indians, and Chinese? If, then, we consider these two sorts of distance together, we shall be so far from being astonished that they who lived in Palestine three thousand years ago had customs different from ours, that we shall rather wonder if we find any think in them alike.

We must not imagine, however, that these changes are regular, and always come on in the same space of time. Countries that are very near each other often differ widely in their religion and politics, as, at this day, Spain and Africa, which, under the Roman empire, had the same customs. On the contrary, there is now a great resemblance between those of Spain and Germany, though there was then none. The same holds good in respect to the difference of times. They that are not acquainted with history, having heard it said that the people of former ages were more *simple* than we, suppose the world is always growing more *polite;* and that the farther any one looks back into antiquity, the more stupid and ignorant he will find mankind to have been.

But it is not really so in countries that have been inhabited successively by different people: the revolutions that have happened there have

very same climate and land, went almost *naked*, not only during the scorching heats of summer, but also through the chilling blasts of winter; and yet were more healthy, vigorous, and robust than their present degenerate offspring

always, from time to time, introduced misery and ignorance, after prosperity and good manners. So, Italy is now in a much better condition than it was eight hundred years ago. But eight hundred years before that, under the first Cesars, it was happier and in a more prosperous state than it is at present. It is true, if we go back eight hundred years more, near the time that Rome was founded, the same Italy will appear much poorer and less polished, though at that time very populous: and still the higher we ascend, it will seem more wretched and uncultivated. Nations have their periods of duration, like particular men. The most flourishing state of the *Greeks* was under *Alexander;* of the *Romans*, under *Augustus;* and of the *Israelites*, under *Solomon.*

We ought therefore to distinguish, in every people, their *beginning*, their *greatest prosperity*, and their *declension.* In this manner I shall consider the Israelites, during all that space of time that they were a people, from the calling of Abraham to the last destruction of Jerusalem. It contains more than two thousand years, which I shall divide into *three periods*, according to the *three* different states of this people. The *first*, of the *patriarchs;* the *second*, of the *Israelites*, from their going out of Egypt to the Babylonish captivity; and the *third*, of the *Jews*, after they returned from captivity, to the promulgation of the gospel.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Patriarchs*—Their Nobility.

The patriarchs lived after a noble manner, in perfect freedom and great plenty, notwithstanding their way of living was plain and laborious. Abraham knew the whole succession of his ancestors, and no way lessened his nobility, since he married into his own family. He took care to provide a wife of the same race for his son, in whom were fulfilled all the promises that God had made to him: and Isaac taught Jacob to observe the same law.

The long lives of the fathers gave them an opportunity of educating their children well, and of making them serious and considerate betimes. Abraham lived more than a hundred years with Shem, and no doubt learned from

* Patriarch, from the *πατριαρχης*, which literally signifies the chief or head of a family. The term is applied properly to the progenitors of the Jewish people, and especially to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve sons of the latter. The patriarchal government existed in the fathers of families and their first-born sons after them, and included the regal and sacerdotal authority; and not unfrequenly the prophetic. This authority, which every first-born son exercised over all the widely extended branches of a numerous family, is termed in Scripture the birthright. The patriarchal dispensation includes all the time from the creation of the world, till the giving of the law. The patriarchs are divided into classes, the *antediluvian* and *postdiluvian*: to the former belong Adam, Seth, Enoch, &c. To the latter, Abram, Isaac, Jacob, &c.

him the state of the world before the deluge. He never left his father Terah, and was at least seventy years old when he lost him. Isaac was seventy-five when Abraham died, and, as far as we know, never went from him all that time.* It is the same with respect to the other patriarchs. Living so long with their fathers, they had the benefit of their experience and inventions. They prosecuted their designs, adhered firmly to their maxims, and became constant and uniform in their conduct. For it was a difficult matter to change what had been settled by men who were still alive; especially as the old men kept up their authority, not only over the youth, but also the elders that were not so old as themselves.

The remembrance of things past might be easily preserved by the bare relation of old men, who naturally love to tell stories of ancient times, and had so much leisure for it. By this means they had no great use for writing; and it is certain we find no mention of it before Moses. However difficult it may seem to conceive that so many calculations as he recites should have been preserved in the memory of men, as the age of all the patriarchs, Gen. v, the exact dates of the beginning and end of

* The author follows here the chronology of Archbishop Usher, who supposes that Shem did not die till 150 years after the birth of Abraham. But Usher leaves the second Cainan out of his chronology, whom the Septuagint and St. Luke place between Arphaxad and Salah. This second Cainan throws the birth of Abraham much farther back.

the flood, Gen. vii, 11 ; viii, 13, the dimensions of the ark, Gen. vi, 15, &c., yet there is no necessity for recurring to miracle and revelation. For it is probable that writing was found out before the deluge : as we are sure musical instruments were, though not so necessary. Gen. iv, 21. But though Moses might have learned in the common way most of the facts which he has written, I believe, nevertheless, that he was influenced by the Holy Spirit to record these facts, rather than others, and express them in terms most proper for the purpose.

Besides, the patriarchs took care to preserve the memory of considerable events by setting up altars and pillars, and other lasting monuments. Thus, Abraham erected altars in the different places where God had appeared to him, Gen. xii, 8 ; xiii, 18. Jacob consecrated the stone which served him for a pillow while he had the mysterious dream of the ladder, Gen. xxviii, 18 ; and the heap of stones which was witness to his covenant with Laban he called Galeed, Gen. xxxi, 48. Of this kind was the sepulchre of Rachel ; the well called Beersheba, Gen. xxvi, 33 ; and all the other wells mentioned in the history of Isaac. Sometimes they gave new names to places. The Greeks and Romans relate the same of their heroes, the eldest of whom lived near the times of the patriarchs, Pausan. *passim ;* Dion. Hal., lib. i. Greece was full of their monuments : Æneas, to mention no others, left some in every place

that he passed through in Greece, Sicily, and Italy. (Virgil. *Æn.*, *passim.*)

The very names of the patriarchs were, besides, a sort of more simple and familiar monuments. They signified some remarkable circumstance of their birth, or particular favour received from God. So they were in effect a short history.* For they took care to explain the *reason* of these names to their children, and it was hardly possible to pronounce them without refreshing the memory with it. This care for posterity, and providence for the future, was an argument of true generosity and greatness of mind.

* Such, for instance, as ABRAM, from אב ab, a *father*, and רם ram, *high;* called afterward Abraham, אברהם *a father of multitudes;* the ה being inserted before ם; for הם ham, is a contraction of המון hamon, a *multitude.*

PELEG, from פלג palag, *he divided: for in his days*, says the text, Gen. x, 25, the *earth* (נפלגה nipilegah) *was divided.*

MANASSES, the son of Joseph, signifies *forgetting*, from נשה nashah, *he was forgetful*, for, said he, Gen. xli, 51, *God hath made me forget* (נשני nashshani) *all my labours, and my father's house.*

EPHRAIM, *fruitful*, from פרה pharah, *he was fruitful;* for, said Joseph his father, הפרני Hiphrani, *God hath made me fruitful in the land of my affliction*, Gen. xli, 52.

JOSEPH, *addition* or *increase*, from יסף Yasaph, he *added* or *increased;* because, said his mother, יהוה יוסף Yoseph Jehovah, *the Lord shall add to me* another son, Gen. xxx, 25.

The patriarchs enjoyed perfect freedom, and their family was a little state, of which the father was, in manner, king. For what did Abraham want of the power of sovereigns, but their vain titles and inconvenient ceremonies? He was subject to nobody; kings concluded alliances with him: he made war and peace when he pleased. Princes sought the alliance of Isaac. Gen. xxvi, 26, 28. Ishmael, Jacob, and Esau, were likewise independent. We must not then suffer ourselves to be misled by names, nor think Abraham inferior to Amraphel or Abimelech, because the Scripture does not call him king as well as them. He was certainly equal to one of those four kings whom he defeated with his domestic forces, and the assistance of his three allies. Gen. xiv, 14, 15. The greatest difference was, that he did not shut himself up within walls as they did, and that his whole family followed him to any place whither he had a mind to move his tents. All authentic history testifies that kingdoms were very small, even in the east, at that time of day and we find them so in other countries a great while after.

CHAPTER III.

Their Riches and Employments.

The riches of the patriarchs consisted chiefly in cattle. Abraham must have had

a vast stock when he was obliged to part from his nephew Lot, because *the land was not able to bear them* together. Gen. xiii, 6. Jacob had a great number when he came back from Mesopotamia; since the present that he made to his brother Esau was *five hundred and eighty* head of different sorts. Gen. xxxii, 13, 15. From which we may likewise learn what sort of beasts they bred, viz.: goats, sheep, camels, horned cattle, and asses.

There were no horses nor swine among them. It was such plenty of cattle which made them set so great a value upon wells and cisterns, in a country where there was no river but Jordan, and rain very seldom.

They had *slaves* too: and Abraham must have had abundance of them, since he armed three hundred and eighteen men of those that were born in his house and trained up by himself. Gen. xiv, 14. In proportion, he must have had plenty of *children, old men, women,* and *slaves* that were bought with money. When he returned from Egypt, it is said he was rich in gold and silver. Gen. xiii, 2. The bracelets and earrings, which his servant Eliezer made a present of to Rebecca from his master, weighed six ounces of gold, Gen. xxiv, 22; and the purchase of his burying place shows that money was in use at that time. Gen. xxiii, 16. We see likewise that perfumes and costly raiment were made use of* by

* Gen. xxvii, 27. But does not this rather intimate that odoriferous plants or herbs, were laid up with the

Esau's clothes, which Jacob wore to obtain his father's blessing.

With all their riches they were very laborious, always in the field, lying under tents, shifting their abode according to the convenience of pasture, and consequently often taken up with encamping and decamping, and frequently upon the march: for they could make but short days' journeys with so numerous an attendance. Not but that they might have built towns as well as their countrymen; but they chose this way of living. It is without doubt the most ancient, since it is easier to set up tents than to build houses; and has always been reckoned the most perfect, as attaching men less to this world. Thus the condition of the patriarchs is best represented, who lived here only as sojourners waiting for the promises of God, Heb. xi, 9, 13, which were not to be accomplished till after their death. The first cities that are mentioned were built by wicked men. Gen. iv, 17. Cain and Nimrod were the first that erected walls and fortifications to secure themselves from the punishment due to their crimes, and to give them an opportunity of committing fresh ones with impunity. Gen. x, 10. Good men lived in the open air, having nothing to make them afraid.

The chief employment of the patriarchs was the care of their cattle: their whole history

clothes in the chests or coffers where they were kept? A custom that prevails among the inhabitants of some countries to the present day.

shows it, and the plain account which the sons of Jacob gave of themselves to the king of Egypt. Gen. xlvii, 3. Though husbandry be very ancient, the pastoral life is the most perfect. The first was the lot of Cain, the brother of Abel. Gen. iv, 2. It has something in it more simple and noble; it is laborious, attaches one less to the world and yet more profitable. The elder Cato (De Re Rustic. in init.) preferred a stock of *cattle*, though but a moderate one, to *tillage*, which yet he thought better than any other way of improving his fortune.

The just reprimand which Jacob gave to Laban, shows that the patriarchs laboured hard at their work, and did at no time neglect it: *I have served thee twenty years*, says he; *in the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night, and my sleep departed from mine eyes.* Gen. xxxi, 40. One may judge of the men's laborious way of living by that of the young women. Rebecca came a good way off to draw water, and carried it upon her shoulders, Gen. xxiv, 15; and Rachel herself kept her father's flock. Gen. xxix, 9. Neither their nobility nor beauty made them so delicate as to scruple it. This primeval simplicity was long retained among the Greeks, whose good breeding we yet admire with so much reason. Homer affords us examples of it throughout his works, and *pastorals* have no other foundation. It is certain that in Syria, Greece, and Sicily, there were persons of eminence who made it

their sole occupation to breed cattle for more than *one thousand five hundred* years after the patriarchs; and who, in the great leisure that sort of life afforded, and the good humour those delightful countries inspired them with, composed several little pieces of poetry, still extant, of inimitable beauty and simplicity.

CHAPTER IV.

Their Frugality.

The patriarchs were not at all nice in their eating or other necessaries of life; one may judge of their common food by the pottage of lentiles that Jacob had prepared, which tempted Esau to sell his birthright. Gen. xxv, 29, 34. But we have an instance of a splendid entertainment in that which Abraham made for the three angels. Gen. xviii, 6. He set a *calf* before them, new *bread*, but baked upon the hearth; together with *butter* and *milk*. It seems they had some sort of *made dishes*, by that which Rebecca cooked for Isaac: but his great age may excuse this delicacy. This dish was made of two *kids*. Gen. xxvii, 9. Abraham dressed a whole *calf* for the angels, and *three measures of meal* made into bread, which comes to more than two of our bushels, and nearly to *fifty-six pounds* of our weight. Whence we may conclude they were great eaters, used much exercise, and were perhaps

of a larger stature as well as longer lives than we. The Greeks seem to think that the men of the heroic ages were of great stature; and Homer makes them great eaters. When Eumæus (Odyss. xiv, l. 74, ib. l. 419) entertained Ulysses, he dressed two pigs, probably young ones, for himself and his guest; and on another occasion, a hog of five years old for five persons.

Homer's heroes wait upon themselves in the common occasions of life; and we see the patriarchs do the same. Abraham, who had so many servants, and was nearly a hundred years old, brings the water himself to wash the feet of his divine guests, bids his wife make the bread quickly, goes himself to choose the meat, and comes again to serve them standing. Gen. xviii, 4. I will allow that he was animated upon this occasion with a desire of showing hospitality; but all the rest of their lives is of a piece with it. Their servants were to assist them, but not so as to exempt them from working themselves. In fact, who could have obliged Jacob, when he went into Mesopotamia, to travel a journey of more than two hundred leagues (for it was at least so far from Beersheba to Haran) alone and on foot, with only a staff in his hand? Gen. xxxii, 10. What, I say, could oblige him to it but his own commendable plainness and love of toil? Thus he rests where night overtakes him, and lays a stone under his head instead of a pillow. And although he was so tenderly fond of Joseph, he

does not scruple sending him alone from Hebron to seek his brethren at Shechem, which was a long day's journey; and when Joseph does not find them there, he goes on to Dothan, more than a day's journey farther, Gen. xxxvii, 15, 17, and all this when he was but sixteen years old.

It was this *plain* and *laborious* way of life, no doubt, that made them attain to such a great old age, and die so calmly. Both Abraham and Isaac lived nearly two hundred years. The other patriarchs, whose age is come to our knowledge, exceeded a hundred at least, and we do not hear that they were ever *sick* during so long a life. *He gave up the ghost, and died in a good old age, full of days*, is the manner in which the Scripture describes their death. Gen. xxv, 8. The first time we read of *physicians* is, when it is said that Joseph commanded his domestics to embalm the body of his father. Gen. l, 2. This was in Egypt; and many have ascribed the invention of physic to the Egyptians. (Aug. de Civ. Dei, xvi, 25.)

The *moderation* of the patriarchs with regard to *wives* is no less to be admired, when we consider, 1st, They were allowed to have several; and 2dly, Their desire of a numerous posterity. Abraham, whom God had promised to make the father of an innumerable people, though he had a *barren wife*, was so far from thinking of taking *another* that he had made a resolution of leaving his substance to the steward of his house. Gen. xv, 2. He did not take a *second*

till he was *eighty-six* years old, and it was his *own wife* who gave her to him.* We must not say that he was still young with respect to his life, which was a *hundred and seventy-five years* long; because *thirteen years* after, he and Sarah, who was *ten years* younger, are called old, and laughed at it as an incredible thing, when God promised them a son. Gen. xviii, 11. As old as Abraham was, and as desirous, as we may suppose him, to see the children of Isaac, he did not marry him till he was forty years old, Gen. xxv, 20; and though Rebecca had no child for *twenty years*, and never but *two*, and those at one birth, Gen. xxv, 21, &c., Isaac had no other wife.

It is true, Jacob had two wives at the same time, and as many concubines; but it is fit we should consider the reason of it. He stayed till he was *seventy-seven* with his father, waiting for the important blessing which he had a right to by the resignation of his brother: at that age he thought of marrying, and asked for Rachel, but did not obtain her till he had served seven years. Gen. xxix, 20. At last then he married at *eighty-four*.† They gave

* Gen. xvi, 2. The *handmaids*, as they are termed, were a sort of slaves, one of which was usually given by a father to his daughter on her marriage: hence they were considered the inalienable property of their mistresses, who claimed not only the fruit of their labour, but also the very children they bore. See above, and also chap. xxix, 24, 29.

† When Joseph appeared before Pharaoh he was *thirty* years of age, Gen. xli, 46, at which time his fa-

him Leah against his will, and he kept her, that she might not be disgraced. But as he might have more wives than one, or marry two sisters, without the breach of any law then existing, he took *her* too that he had first engaged to wed. Gen. xxix, 30. When she found herself barren, she gave her husband a handmaid to have children by her. This was a sort of adoption practised at that time: and her sister did the same, that the family might be increased. From all which St. Augustine draws this conclusion: *We do not read that Jacob desired any more than one wife, or made use of more, without strictly observing the rules of conjugal chastity.* (De Civ. Dei, xvi, 25, 38.) We must not imagine he had other wives before; for why should the last only be mentioned?

And yet I do not undertake to justify all the patriarchs in this point. The story of Judah and his sons affords but too many examples of the contrary. Gen. xxxviii. I would only show that we cannot, with justice, accuse those of incontinence whom the Scripture reckons holy. For with regard to the rest of mankind they were from that time very much corrupted. Such then, in general, was the first state of

ther was 121; for when he appeared before Pharaoh he was 130 years old, Gen. xlvii, 9, and nine years had elapsed from the time Joseph was presented to Pharoah till the time that Jacob and his family came into Egypt, viz., seven years of plenty and two of famine; consequently Jacob was ninety-one years old when Joseph was born. (August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xviii, c. 4.)

God's people. An entire freedom, without any government but that of a father, who was an absolute monarch in his own family. A life very natural and easy, through a great abundance of necessaries, and an utter contempt of superfluities; through an honest labour, accompanied with care and frugality, without anxiety or ambition.

Let us now proceed to the *second period:* which is, that of the Israelites, from their coming out of Egypt to the Babylonish captivity. It lasted more than *nine hundred years,* and most of the sacred writings relate to it.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

The Israelites—Their Nobility.

Though the people were already very numerous, they were still called *the children of Israel,* as if they had been but one family; in the same manner as they said, *the children of Edom, the children of Moab,* &c. Indeed all these people were still distinct: they knew their own origin, and took a pride in preserving the name of their author. Thence probably it comes that the name of *children* signified, with the ancients, a nation, or certain sort of people. Homer often says, *the children of the Greeks,* and *the children of the Trojans,* The Greeks used to say, *the children of the*

physicians and grammarians. With the Hebrews, *the children of the east* are eastern people; *the children of Belial*, the wicked; *the children of men*, or *Adam*, mankind. And in the gospel we often see, *the children of this world—of darkness, and of light*—and also, *the children of the bridegroom*, for those that go along with him to his wedding.

The Israelites were divided into twelve tribes. Gen. xlix, 1–28. There was the same number of the Ishmaelites, Gen. xxv, 13–16, and as many of the Persians. (Xenoph. Cyrop., p. 5, edit. Steph., 1581.) The people of Athens were at first composed of four tribes, afterward divided into ten, to which they gave the names of ten heroes, who for this reason were called *Eponimy*, and whose statues were set up in the public exchange. (Demost. in Timocr. in Leptin. et ibi Ulpian. Επωνυμοι, Ηρωες.) The Roman people were also distributed into *three* or *four tribes*, which increased to *thirty-five*. The names of them are still upon record. But these Athenian and Roman tribes were made up of different families, collected together to keep order in their assemblies and elections: whereas, those of the Israelites were naturally distinct, and were only *twelve* large families, descended from *twelve brothers*.

They were very exact in keeping their genealogies, and knew all the succession of their ancestors, as high as the patriarch of their tribe, from whom it is easy going back to the first man. Thus they were really *brethren*,

that is to say, *kinsmen*, according to the eastern language, and of genuine nobility, if ever there was such a thing in the world.

They had preserved the purity of their families, by taking care, as their fathers did, not to marry with the nations descended from Canaan, who were under a curse. Exod. xxxiv, 16; Deut. vii, 3. For we do not find that the patriarchs avoided matches with any other people, or that they were expressly forbidden by the law to marry with them. Their families were fixed and attached by the same law to certain lands, on which they were obliged to live, during the space of the nine hundred years I have mentioned. Should we not esteem that family very noble, indeed, that could show as long a succession of generations, without any disgraceful weddings in it, or change of mansion? Few noblemen in Europe can prove so much.

What deceives us in this respect is, our not seeing *titles* among the Israelites like those of our nobility. Every one was called plainly by his own name; but their names signified great things, as those of the patriarchs. The name of God was part of most; which was in a manner a short prayer. *Elijah* and *Joel* are made up of two of God's names joined in a different way:* Jehoshaphat and Sephatiah signify the *judgment of God:* Jehozadak and Zedekiah,

* Elijah, in Hebrew אֵלִיָּהוּ, a contraction of אֵלִי יָהּ הוּא *Jehovah he is my strong God.*

Joel יוֹאֵל signifies *willing* or *acquiescing*, from

his justice: Johanan, or John, the son of Hananiah, *his mercy:* Nathanael, Elnathan, Jonathan, and Nethaniah, all four signify, *God given*, or *the gift of God.* Sometimes the name of God was understood, as in Nathan, David, Obed, Uzzah, Ezra or Esdras: as is plain by Eliezer, *God my helper:* Uzziel, *God my strength:* and Obadiah, *the Lord's servant:* where it is expressed. Some of their names were mysterious and prophetical, as that of Joshua or Jesus, *Saviour*, and those which Hosea and Isaiah gave their children by the order of God. Hos. i, 4; Isa. viii, 3. Other names showed the piety of their fathers; and we may see instances of it in the names of David's brethren and children. 1 Chron. ii, 13,; iii, 1.

Such are the names which appear so barbarous to us for want of understanding the Hebrew tongue. Are they not full as significant as those of castles and towns, which our nobility assume? The Greek names, whose sound we are so fond of, are of the same import. Many are composed of the names of their gods: as *Diodorus*, *Diogenes*, *Hermodorus*, *Hephæstion*, *Athenais*, *Artemisia.* But several are derived from their love of exercise, particularly of riding, as *Philip*, *Damasippus* or *Hippodamus*, *Hegesippus*, *Hippomedon*, &c.*

יאל yaal, *he willed*, and is not compounded of יה yah, Jehovah; and אל El, the strong God, as the abbe seems to have supposed.

* Diodorus, του διος δωρον, *the gift of Jupiter.* Diogenes, γενος του διος, *born of Jupiter.* Hermo-

They often added the father's name, either for distinction or respect's sake, to show that the father was a man of renown: perhaps Solomon had this custom in his eye when he said, *The glory of children are their fathers*, Prov. xvii, 6. Thus we see, in Homer, that the Greeks took the paternal name for a mark of honour.* Sometimes the mother's name was given for the surname; as when the father had many wives, or when the mother was of the better family. So Joab and his brethren are always called *the sons of Zeruiah*, who was David's sister. 1 Chron. ii, 16. If the name of the father was not distinction enough, they added the grandfather's, as *Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan.* Jer. xxxix, 14. And this is the reason of so many names that appear tiresome to us: for they went sometimes as high as the great-grandfather, or higher. Sometimes a surname was taken from the head of a particular branch, from a town, a country, or a nation, if they were originally strangers; as *Uriah the Hittite, Araunah the Jebuzite.*

DORUS, from Ερμης and δωρον, *the gift of Mercury.* HEPHÆSTION, *Vulcan.* ATHENAIS, *Minerva.* ARTEMISIA, *Diana.* PHILIPPUS, *a lover of horses.* DAMASIPPUS, HIPPOMEDON, HIPPODAMUS, *a tamer of horses.* HEGESIPPUS, *chief or captain of horse.*

* Πατροθεν εκ γενεης ονομαζων ανδρα εκαστον.
Iliad x, 68.

" Call every single person by his name.
And add the father's name to grace the son's."

The Greeks had no surnames but what they took from their father or country. The Romans had family names, to which they only added the distinction of some great office or remarkable victory; but in deeds they always set down the father's name. Many of the European nations still retain the same custom; and most of our surnames come from the proper names of the fathers, which have remained with their children. As to the titles of *lordships*, they are not above seven or eight hundred years old, no more than the lordships themselves. We must not be surprised to see in Scripture, *David the son of Jesse*, and *Solomon the son of David*, any more than *Alexander the son of Philip*, and *Ptolemy the son of Legus*, in Greek authors.

The principal distinction that birth occasioned among the Israelites, was that of the Levites and priests. The whole tribe of Levi was dedicated to God, and had no inheritance but the tenths and the first fruits, which it received from the other tribes. Of all the Levites, the descendants of Aaron only were priests; the rest were employed in the other functions of religion; in singing psalms, taking care of the tabernacle or temple, and instructing the people. Two of the other tribes were sufficiently distinguished. That of Judah was always the most illustrious and the most numerous; of which, according to Jacob's prophecy, their kings and the Messiah himself were to come. Gen. xlix, 10. That of Ephraim held

the second rank on account of Joseph. Yet the eldest branches and the heads of each family were most esteemed in every tribe : and this made Saul say, surprised with the respect that Samuel paid him, *Am not I of the smallest of the tribes of Israel, and my family the least of all the families of the tribe of Benjamin?* 1 Sam. ix, 21.

Age, too, made a great distinction ; and the name of *old man* in Scripture generally denotes dignity. Indeed, there was nothing but *age* and *experience* that could distinguish men equally noble, and of the same education and employments, and almost equally rich.

CHAPTER II.

Their Employments—Agriculture.

We do not find any distinct professions among the Israelites. From the eldest of the tribe of Judah to the youngest of that of Benjamin, they were all husbandmen and shepherds, driving their ploughs and watching their flocks themselves. The old man of Gibeah, that lodged the Levite, whose wife was abused, was coming back at night from his work, when he invited him to sojourn with him. Judg. xix, 16. Gideon himself was thrashing his corn when the angel told him he should deliver his people, Judg. vi, 11. Ruth got into the good graces of Boaz by gleaning at his harvest. Saul, though a king, was

driving oxen when he received the news of the danger Jabesh Gilead was in. 1 Sam. xi, 5. Every body knows that David was keeping sheep, when Samuel sent to look for him to anoint him king, 1 Sam. xvi, 11; and he returned to his flock after he had been called to play upon the harp before Saul. 1 Sam. xvii, 15. After he was king, his sons made a great feast at the shearing of their sheep. 2 Sam. xiii, 23. Elisha was called to be a prophet as he drove one of his father's twelve ploughs. 1 Kings xix, 19. The child that he brought to life again was with his father at the harvest when it fell sick. 2 Kings iv, 18. And Judith's husband, though very rich, got the illness of which he died on the like occasion. Judith vii, 3. The Scripture abounds with such examples.

This, without doubt, is what most offends those who are not acquainted with antiquity, and have no opinion of any customs but their own. When they hear of ploughmen and shepherds, they figure to themselves a parcel of clownish boors, that lead a slavish miserable life, in poverty and contempt, without courage, without sense or education. They do not consider that what makes our country people commonly so wretched is their being slaves to all the rest of mankind: since they work not only for their own maintenance, but to furnish necessaries for all those that live in high and polished life. For it is the countryman that provides for the citizens, the officers of the

courts of judicature and treasury, gentlemen, and ecclesiastics: and whatever ways we make use of to turn money into provisions, or provisions into money, all will end in the fruits of the earth, and those animals that are supported by them. Yet when we compare all these different conditions together, we generally place those that work in the country in the last rank: and most people set a greater value upon *fat idle citizens*, that are *weak* and *lazy* and *good for nothing*, because, being richer, they live more luxuriously, and at their ease.

But if we imagine a country, where the difference of conditions is not so great, where to live genteelly is not to live without doing any thing at all, but carefully to preserve one's liberty, which consists in being subject to nothing but the laws and public authority; where the inhabitants subsist upon their own stock, without depending upon any body, and are content with a little, rather than do a mean thing to grow rich; a country where idleness, effeminacy, and ignorance of what is necessary for the support of life, are discountenanced, and where pleasure is in less esteem than health and strength: in such a country it would be more creditable to plough, or keep a flock, than to follow diversions, and idle away the whole of a man's time. Now there is no necessity of having any recourse to Plato's commonwealth to find men of this character, for so lived the greatest part of mankind for nearly four thousand years.

To begin with what we are best acquainted with. Of this sort were the maxims of the Greeks and Romans. We see everywhere in Homer kings and princes living upon the fruits of their lands and their flocks, and working with their own hands. (See the Iliad and Odyssey passim.) Hesiod has written a poem on purpose to recommend husbandry, as the only creditable means of subsisting and improving one's fortune; and finds fault with his brother, to whom he addresses it, for living at other people's expense, by *pleading causes*, and following affairs of that kind.* He reckons this employment, which is the sole occupation of so many among us, no better than idleness. We see by Xenophon's Œconomics that the Greeks had noway lessened their opinion of husbandry when they were at the highest pitch of politeness.

We must not therefore impute the fondness of the Romans for husbandry to stupidity and want of letters: it is rather a sign of their good sense. As all men are born with limbs and bodies fit for labour, they thought every one ought to make use of them; and that they could not do it to better purpose than in making the earth afford them a certain maintenance and innocent plenty. It was not, however, covetousness that recommended it to them;

* *Hesiodi opera et Dies*, lib. i, v. 26. Hesiod flourished about 876 years before the Christian era; and was the first poet who celebrated agriculture in verse.

since the same Romans despised gold and the presents of strangers. Nor was it want of courage and bravery; since at that very time they subdued all Italy, and raised those powerful armies with which they afterward conquered the whole world. On the contrary, the painful and frugal life they led in the country was the chief reason of their great strength, making their bodies robust by inuring them to labour, and accustoming them to severe discipline. Whoever is acquainted with the life of Cato the Censor cannot suspect him of a low way of thinking, or of meanness of spirit; yet that great man, who had gone through all the offices in the commonwealth when it flourished most, who had governed provinces and commanded armies; that great orator, lawyer, and politican, did not think it beneath him to write of the various ways of managing lands and vines, the method of building stables for different sorts of beasts, and a press for wine or oil; and all this in the most circumstantial manner; so that, we see, he understood it perfectly, and did not write out of ostentation or vainglory, but for the benefit of mankind.*

Let us then frankly own that our contempt of husbandry is not founded upon any solid reason; since this occupation is noway inconsistent with courage, or any other virtue that is necessary either in peace or war, or even in

* See his work *De Re Rustica.*

true politeness. Whence then does it proceed? I will endeavour to show the real cause. It comes only from use and the old customs of our own country. The Franks and other people of Germany lived in countries that were covered with forests: they had neither corn nor wine, nor any good fruits; so that they were obliged to live by hunting, as the savages still do in the cold countries of America. After they had crossed the Rhine, and settled on better lands, they were ready enough to take the advantages that result from agriculture, arts, and trade; but would not apply *themselves* to any of them. They left this occupation to the Romans whom they had subdued, and continued in their ancient ignorance, which time seemed to have made venerable; and attached such an idea of nobility to it as we have still much ado to abandon.

But in the same degree that they lessened the esteem for agriculture, they brought hunting into credit, of which the ancients made but little account. They held it in the highest repute, and advanced it to very great perfection, sparing neither pains nor expense. This has been generally the employment of the nobility. Yet, to consider things in a true light, the labour spent in tilling the ground, and rearing tame creatures, answers at least as well as that which only aims at catching wild beasts, often at the expense of tillage. The moderate pains of one that has the care of a great number of cattle and poultry, is, surely, as eligible

as the violent and unequal exercise of a hunter; and oxen and sheep are at least as useful for our support as dogs and horses. It may well therefore be asserted that our customs, in this point, are not as agreeable to reason as those of the ancients.*

Besides, the *Greeks* and *Romans* were not the only people that esteemed agriculture as the Hebrews did: the *Carthaginians*, who were originally Phœnicians, studied it much, as appears by the twenty-eight books which Mago wrote upon that subject. (Varro's Preface.) The *Egyptians* had such a reverence for it as even to adore the creatures that were of use in it. The *Persians*, in the height of their power, had overseers in every province to look after the tillage of the ground. Cyrus the younger delighted in planting and cultivating a garden with his own hands. (Xenoph. Œcon.) As to the *Chaldeans*, we cannot doubt of their being well skilled in husbandry, if we reflect upon the fruitfulness of the plains of Babylon, which pro-

* This relic of ancient barbarism is continued among us in full vigour; and without any kind of reason to vindicate the practice. By it our Gothic ancestors provided for their sustenance; but their descendants use it as a species of pleasure, without being impelled to it by any kind of *necessity*. Often the peaceable inhabitants of a whole country are thrown into confusion by vast numbers of dogs and horsemen, breaking through their enclosures, and destroying the hopes of their agricultural toil. And all this to run a poor *timid* helpless animal out of breath! Is not such a practice as this as disgraceful to humanity as it is to common sense?

duced two or three hundred grains for one.* In a word, the history of China teaches us that agriculture was also in high esteem among them in the most ancient and best times. Nothing but the tyranny of the northern nations has made it so generally disesteemed.

Let us then divest ourselves of the mean opinion we have conceived of it from our infancy. Instead of our villages, where we see on one side castles and houses of pleasure, and on the other miserable huts and cottages, let us imagine we saw those spacious farms which the Romans called VILLAS, that contained an apartment for the master, and inner yard for poultry, barns, stables, and servants' houses; and all this in exact proportion, well built, kept in good repair, and exceedingly clean. We may see descriptions of them in *Varro* and *Columella*. Their slaves were most of them happier than our country people, well fed, well clothed, and without any care upon their hands for the sustenance of their families. The masters, frugal as they were, lived more to their satisfaction than our gentry. We read in Xenophon of an Athenian citizen, who, taking a walk every morning into the fields to look after his workmen, at the same time promoted his health by the exercise of his body, and increased his substance by his diligence to make

* Τον δε της Δημητρος καρπον ωδε αγαθη εκφερειν εστι, ωστε επι διηκοσια—επι τριηκοσια εκφερει. Herodot. Clio. p. 89. Edit. Steph. 1592.

the most of it. (Xenoph. Œcon. and *Cic.* Cato Major. c. 17.) So that he was rich enough to give liberally to religious uses, the service of his friends, and country. Tully mentions several farmers in Sicily, so rich and magnificent as to have their houses furnished with statues of great value, and were possessed of gold and silver plate of chased work. (Lib. iv, in ver. Edit. Lond. 1680, vol. ii, p. 2721.)

In fine it must be owned that as long as the nobility and rich men of a country were not above this most ancient of all professions, their lives were more happy, because more conformable to nature. They lived longer, and in better health, their bodies were fitter for the fatigue of war and travelling, and their minds more serious and composed. Being less idle, they were not so tired of themselves, nor solicitous in refining their pleasures. Labour gave a relish to the smallest diversions. They had fewer evil designs in their heads, and less temptation to put them in execution. Their plain and frugal way of living did not admit of *extravagance*, or occasion their *running into debt*. There were, of consequence, fewer law suits, selling up of goods, and families ruined: fewer frauds, outrages, and such other crimes as real or imaginary poverty makes men commit when they are not able or willing to work. The worst is, that the example of the rich and noble influences every body else: whoever thrives so as to be never so little above the dregs of the people is ashamed to work, especially at hus-

bandry. Hence come so many shifts to live by one's wits, so many new contrivances as are invented every day, to draw money out of one purse into another. God knows best how innocent all these unnatural ways of living are. They are at least most of them very precarious; whereas the earth will always maintain those that cultivate it, if other people do not take its produce from them.

So far then is the country and laborious life of the Israelites from making them contemptible, that it is a proof of their wisdom, good education, and resolution to observe the rules of their fathers. They knew the first man was placed in the terrestrial paradise to work there, Gen. ii, 15; and that, after his fall, he was condemned to more laborious and ungrateful toil. Gen. iii, 17. They were convinced of those solid truths so often repeated in the books of Solomon: that *poverty is the fruit of laziness.* Prov. x. 4, 5. That *he who sleeps in summer, instead of minding his harvest, or that ploughs not in winter for fear of the cold, deserves to beg and have nothing.* Prov. xx, 4, 13. That *plenty is the natural consequence of labour and industry.* Prov. xxvii, 18. *That riches, too hastily got, are not blessed,* Prov. xx, 21. There we see frugal poverty, with cheerfulness and plainness, preferred to riches and abundance, with strife and insolence, Prov. xvii, 1; xix, 1; the inconvenience of the two extremes of poverty and wealth, and the wise man's desires, confined to the necessaries of life, Prov.

xxx, 8, 9. He even enters into a minute detail of economical precepts: *Prepare thy work*, says he, *without, and make it fit for thyself in the field*, and afterward *build thine house*, Prov. xxiv, 27; which is the same with that maxim in Cato, that planting requires not much consideration, but building a great deal.

Now that which goes by the name of *work, business, goods*, in the book of Proverbs, and throughout the whole Scripture, constantly relates to *country affairs;* it always means lands, vines, oxen, and sheep. From thence are borrowed most of the metaphorical expressions. Kings and other chiefs are called *shepherds;* and the people, their *flocks;* to govern them, is *to find pasture for them.* Thus, the Israelites sought their livelihood only from the natural sources, which are lands and cattle: and from hence, all that enriches mankind, whether by manufactures, trade, rents, or trafficking with money, is ultimately derived.*

CHAPTER III.

The Nature of the Soil—Its Fruitfulness.

The Israelites dwelt in the land that was promised to the patriarchs, which the Scripture often described as flowing with milk and honey, to

* What a blessing would it be to the world, were these times of primitive simplicity and common sense restored to mankind.

express its great fertility. This country, which is so hot in comparison of ours, lies a great way within the temperate zone, between thirty-one and thirty-three degrees of northern latitude. It is bounded on the south by very high mountains, that defend it from the scorching winds that blow from the Arabian deserts, and which run as far to the east as they do. The Mediterranean, which bounds it to the west north-west, supplies it with refreshing breezes; and Mount Libanus, that is situated more to the north, intercepts those that are colder. The Mediterranean is what the Scripture commonly calls *the Great Sea;* for the Hebrews knew little of the *ocean*, and gave the name of *seas* to lakes and all great waters. The inland part of the country is varied with a great many mountains and hills proper for vines, fruit trees, and small cattle; and the valleys abound with streams, very necessary to water the country, which has no river but Jordan. Rain falls seldom, but the time of its coming is well regulated: it falls in the spring and autumn, and is therefore called *the early and latter*, or *the evening and morning rain*, in Scripture, which reckons the year as one day. In summer, the great dews compensate for the scarcity of rain. They had plains fit for tillage and pasture, particularly the great plain of Galilee: and this variety of land, within so small a compass, must needs afford very beautiful landscapes, especially where a country is well peopled and cultivated.

For we are not to judge of the Holy Land

from the condition it is now in. From the time of the crusades it was laid waste by continual wars, till it became subject to the Turks. By these means it is now almost desolate. There is nothing to be seen but little paltry villages, ruins, lands uncultivated and deserted, but full of high grass, which shows their natural fertility. The Turks neglect it, as they do their other provinces; and several of the Arabian clans, called Bedouins, encamp there at pleasure, and plunder it with impunity. To know then what it was formerly, we must consult ancient authors; Josephus, but above all the Holy Scriptures. (Jos. War, b. 3, c. 3. Ant. b. 5, c. 1, 5, 21. Whiston's Translation, fol. Lond. 1737.) Consider the report which the spies made that were sent by Moses, and the prodigious bunch of grapes they brought back. Numb. xiii, 23. And that we may not be surprised at it, let us compare the grapes in France with those in Italy, which is a cold country in comparison of Palestine. It is the same with regard to most of our fruits. Their names still show that we had them originally from Asia and Africa: but they have not retained their extraordinary size and natural flavour with their names.

The Israelites had vast crops of *corn* and *barley: wheat* is reckoned among the chief commodities that they carried to Tyre, Ezek. xxvii, 17. They had plenty of *oil* and *honey*. The mountains of Judah and Ephraim were great vineyards. (Josephus, War, b. 1, c. 5.) The

palm trees that grow about Jericho yielded a considerable profit; and it was the only place in the world where the genuine *balsam tree* was to be found. (Fastidit Balsamum alibi nasci. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xvi, c. 32.)

This fertility of their country, and the pains they took to cultivate it, account for its maintaining such a multitude of people, though it was of so small extent. For what the Scripture says of it seems hardly credible at first sight. When the people first came into this land, there were more than *six hundred thousand* men bearing arms, from twenty years old to sixty. Numb. xi, 21. In the war of Gibeah, the tribe of Benjamin alone, which was the least of all, had an army of *twenty-six thousand men*, and the rest of the people had one of *four hundred thousand*. Judg. xx, 17. Saul headed *two hundred and ten thousand* men against the Amalekites, when he rooted them out. 1 Sam. xv, 4. David always kept up *twelve corps*, each consisting of *twenty-four thousand* men, which served by the month, and amounted to *two hundred and eighty thousand*. 1 Chron. xxvii, 1. And when he numbered the people, which brought down the wrath of God upon him, there were *one million three hundred thousand* fighting men. 2 Sam. xxiv, 9. Jehoshaphat had more in proportion: for though he had scarcely a third part of David's kingdom, he had more troops fit for war; which, altogether, made *eleven hundred and threescore thousand* men, all under his immediate command, beside the gar-

risons in his strong places. 2 Chron. xvii, 14, 15, &c.

Nor is there any thing incredible in all this: we see examples to the same purpose in profane history. The great city of Thebes in Egypt furnished out of its own inhabitants alone *seven hundred thousand* fighting men. Tacit. Annal. ii. In the year 188, from the foundation of Rome, when Servius Tullius first numbered the people, they reckoned *eighty thousand* citizens fit to bear arms. Liv. i, 24. Yet they had nothing to subsist upon but the land about Rome, which is now most of it barren and desolate; for their dominion did not extend above eight or ten leagues. (See the supplement at the end of this chapter.)

That was the chief foundation of their politics in old time. *In the multitude of people*, says the wise man, *is the king's honour, but in the want of people is the destruction of the prince.* Prov. xiv. 28. They supported themselves much less by cunning than real strength. Instead of being industrious in setting spies upon their neighbours, and endeavouring to sow divisions among them, or gain credit by false reports, they took pains to people and cultivate their own country, and make the most of it they possibly could, whether it was small or great.

They endeavoured to make marriages easy, and the lives of married people comfortable; to get health and plenty, and draw out of the ground all it could produce. They employed their citizens in labour, inspired them with a

love of their country, unanimity among themselves, and obedience to the laws: this is what they call politics. These are fine maxims it may be said; but let us come to matters of fact. Show us how it is possible that so small a country as Palestine should maintain so great a number of people. In order to do this, we must have patience to go through a short calculation, and not to think it below us to descend to particulars, which is the only way of proving it to satisfaction.

Josephus has preserved a valuable fragment of Hecatæus the Abderite, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and was a courtier of Ptolemy the First. After relating many remarkable particulars concerning the manners of the Jews, he adds, that the country they inhabited contains about three million *arures* of very rich and fruitful ground. (Joseph. cont. App. b. ii. p. 990. Whiston's edit. Lond. fol. 1737.) The arure, according to Eustathius, was a hundred square cubits, that is, *one hundred and fifty feet*, which, multiplied into so many square feet, make *twenty-two thousand five hundred*, Eustath. ex Hom. Now, our *arpent*, or acre of a hundred perches, contains *forty thousand square feet*, reckoning the perch but twenty feet. So nine of our arpents make sixteen arures.

I have informed myself of the produce of our best land, and find that it yields five quarters of corn *per* arpent, Paris measure. I have inquired, likewise, how much goes to the susten-

ance of one man, and find, that, at the allowance of two pounds and six ounces of bread *per* day, he consumes about three bushels of corn each month, which comes to thirty-six bushels *per* year. But this would not have been enough for the Israelites; we must give them at least double; and it may be proved from Scripture. When God gave them manna in the wilderness, he ordered each man to take an omer of it every day, neither more nor less, Exod. xvi, 16; and it is often said, that it was as much as a man could eat. Now, an omer, reduced to our measure, held about *five pints*, and its weight was more than *five pounds and a half*. Ibid. ver. 18. It was then about eighty-four bushels *per* year: consequently, each arpent, or acre, could maintain but two men at most; and three millions of arures making one million six hundred eighty-seven thousand five hundred arpents, would feed *three million three hundred and seventy-five thousand men*.

I know very well this number would not be sufficient to furnish out the one million two hundred thousand fighting men of Jehoshaphat. He had not dominion over half the land; and though all the Israelites bore arms without distinction, there were always a great many persons among them unfit for war. We must reckon nearly as many women as men, a great many old men, and more children: and though in proportion they need less food, however it must require a great deal to suffice such a mul-

titude. Besides, they were obliged by the law to let the land have rest every seventh year.

But it must be observed that this passage in Hecatæus relates only to the ploughed lands of the Jews, and those too that were most fruitful. For if we take the whole extent of the land of Israel, it would be fourteen times as much, It cannot be computed as less than five degrees square, according to our maps. Now one degree makes *two million, nine hundred thirty thousand, two hundred fifty-nine* square arpents; and the five degrees, *fourteen million, six hundred fifty-one thousand, two hundred and ninety-five* arpents. So that it is evident Hecatæus has reckoned only a small part. He has left out what the Samaritans enjoyed in his time; their lakes, deserts, and barren grounds, vineyards, plantations, and pastures, of which they must have had a large quantity for the support of their great herds of cattle. For beside what they bred, they had some from other countries. The king of Moab paid Ahab king of Israel a tribute of *a hundred thousand lambs*, and *as many rams*. Other Arabians brought Jehoshaphat *seven thousand seven hundred rams*, and *as many he-goats*. 2 Chron. xvii, 11. All this cattle was a great help to maintaining them, not only by the flesh, but the milk. Considering that the Israelites lived in a simple manner, and laid all their good ground in tillage; for they had few groves, no parks for hunting, nor avenues, nor flower gardens. We see by the Song of Solomon that their gardens were

full of fruit trees and aromatic plants: we may therefore be in still less concern for their lodging than their food, since half, nay, a quarter of an acre, is more than sufficient to lodge, not only one man, but a whole family, with ease and convenience.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER III.

Concerning the Population of Ancient Nations.

As popular arithmetic is become a subject of considerable importance, the reader will not be displeased to see the following collections in this place, relative to the population of some ancient states.

The free citizens of Sybaris, able to bear arms, and actually drawn out in battle, were 300,000: they encountered at *Siagara* with 100,000 of Crotona, a neighbouring Greek city, and were defeated. (Diod. Sicul., lib. xii.) Strabo confirms this account, lib. vi.

The citizens of Agrigentum when it was destroyed by the Carthaginians amounted, according to Diodorus Siculus, (lib. xiii.) to 20,000, beside 200,000 strangers; but neither the slaves nor women and children are included in this account. On the whole, this city must have contained nearly 2,000,000 of inhabitants.

Polybius says (lib. ii) that when the Romans were threatened with an invasion from the Gauls, between the first and second Punic war, on a muster of their own forces, and those of

their allies, they were found to amount to 700,000 men able to bear arms. The country that supplied this number was not one-third of Italy, viz., the pope's dominions, Tuscany, and a part of the kingdom of Naples. But Diodorus Siculus (lib. ii) makes the same enumeration amount to nearly 1,000,000.

Julius Cesar, according to Appian, (*Celtica*), encountered 4,000,000 of Gauls, killed one million, and took another million prisoners.

Athenæus says (lib. vi, cap. 20) that, by the enumeration of Demetrius Phalerius, there were in Athens 21,000 citizens, 18,000 strangers, and 400,000 slaves.

The same author says that Corinth had once 460,000 slaves, and Egina, 470,000.

The Spartans, says Plutarch, (in vit. Lycurg.,) were 9000 in the town, 30,000 in the country: the male slaves must have been 78,000, the whole more than 3,120,000.

In the time of Diodorus Siculus there lived in Alexandria 300,000 free people; and this number does not seem to comprehend either the slaves (who must have been double the number of grown persons) or the women and children, lib. xvii.

Appian says (*Celt.*, pars. 1) that there were 400 nations in Gaul; and Diodorus Siculus says (lib. v) that the largest of these nations consisted of 200,000 men, beside women and children, and the least of 50,000. Calculating therefore at a medium, we must admit of nearly 200,000,000 of people in that country,

the population of which does not now amount to 30,000,000. The latter historian tells us that the army of Ninus was composed of 1,700,000 foot, and 200,000 horse, (lib. ii.) There were exact bills of mortality kept at Rome; but no ancient author has given us the number of burials, except Suetonius, who tells us that in one season 30,000 names were carried to the temple of Libitina, (the goddess of death,) but it appears that a plague raged at that time. (Suet. in vit. Neronis.)

Diodorus Siculus (lib. ii) says that Dionysius the elder had a standing army of 100,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and a fleet of 400 galleys.

If the preceding statements be correct, what desolations must have taken place in the earth in the course of the last 2000 years.

Baron Montesquieu supposes that population is not so great now as it was formerly. (Lettres *personnes*, et l'Esprit de Loix, liv. xxiii, chap. 17, 18, 19.) Travel (says this sensible writer) through the whole earth, and you will find nothing but decay; one might well suppose it to be just arising out of the ravages of the plague or of the famine. After the most exact calculation which subjects of this nature can admit of, we find that there is scarcely the fiftieth part of men upon the earth now that there was in the time of Julius Cesar. What is most astonishing is, that population decreases daily, and if this should continue, the world must become a desert in the

course of ten centuries. This is the most terrible catastrophe that has ever taken place in the world; but it is scarcely perceived because it comes insensibly, and in the course of a great number of centuries: but this proves that an inward decay, a secret and hidden poison, a languishing disease, afflicts the whole course of human nature. (See Mr. Hume's Essay on the populousness of ancient nations.)

CHAPTER IV.

The Riches of the Israelites.

Each Israelite had his field to till, which was the same that had been allotted to his ancestors in the time of Joshua. They could neither change their place, nor enrich themselves to any great degree. The law of jubilee had provided against that by revoking all alienations every fifty years, and forbidding to exact debts, not only this forty-ninth year, but every sabbatical year: for as the ground lay fallow those years, it was but reasonable to put a stop to law proceedings at the same time. Lev. xxv, 10, 11, &c. (Joseph. Antiq., b. iii, c. 12, s. 3. Whiston's edit. fol. Lond. 1737.) Now *this difficulty of being paid again made it not so easy to borrow money*, and *consequently lessened the opportunities of impoverishment;* which was the design of law. Besides, the *impossibility of making lasting purchases* gave

a *check* to *ambition* and *anxiety;* every body was confined to the portion of his ancestors, and took a pleasure in making the best of ti, knowing it could never go out of the family.

This attachment was even a religious duty founded upon the law of God: and thence proceeded the generous opposition made by Naboth, when King Ahab would have persuaded him to sell *the inheritance of his fathers.* 1 Kings xxi, 3. So the law says they were no more than usurfructuaries of their land, or rather God's tenants, who was the true proprietor of it. Lev. xxv, 23. They were obliged to pay no rent, but the tenths and first fruits which he had commanded: and Samuel reckons taxes upon corn and wine as one of the encroachments of kings that he threatens the people with. 1 Sam. viii, 15. All the Israelites were then very nearly equal in riches as well as quality: and if, by the increase of a family, the estate in land was forced to be divided into more shares, it was to be made up with industry and labour, by tilling the ground more carefully, and breeding greater numbers of cattle in deserts and commons.

Thus it was cattle and other movables that made one reacher than another. They bred the same sort of creatures as the patriarchs did, and always many more females than males; otherwise they had been liable to many inconveniences, for the law forbade to castrate them. Lev. xxii, 24. They had no horses, nor are they of any great use in mountainous coun-

tries: their kings had them out of Egypt, when they had occasion for them. The common way of riding was upon asses, even among the rich. To give us a great idea of Jair, one of the judges over the people, the Scripture tells us that he had thirty sons riding upon thirty asses, Judg. x, 4, who were rulers of thirty cities. It is recorded of Abdon, another judge, that he had forty sons, and thirty grandsons, that rode upon threescore and ten asses, Judges xii, 14; and in the Song of Deborah, the captains of Israel are described as mounted upon sleek and shining asses.*

It does not appear that they had a great number of slaves, neither had they any occasion for them, being so industrious and numerous in so small a country. They chose rather to make their children work, whom they were obliged to maintain: who served them better than any slaves. The Romans found a great inconvenience at last from that vast multitude of slaves of all nations, which luxury and effeminacy had introduced among them: *it was one of the chief causes of the ruin of that empire.*

Ready money could not be very common among the Israelites: there was no great occa-

* Judg. v, 10. צחר tsachar signifies not only *white*, as it is translated in our Bibles, but *sleek* or *shining; nitentes*, as the Vulgate has it. And probably the asses here mentioned might be both; the author's words are anes *polis et luisans*. The word occours but twice in the Hebrew Bible: viz., in the above text, and Ezek. xxvii, 18.

sion for it in a country of little trade, and where it was scarcely possible to alienate lands or run into debt, Lev. xxv, 10 ; Deut. xv, 1, 3. They were forbidden to take usury of one another, though they might of strangers, Lev. xxv, 36 ; Deut. xxiii, 19 : but if they observed their law, it was no easy matter to have any dealings with foreigners. 2 Chron. ii, 17. Thus their wealth, as I said before, consisted chiefly in land and cattle.

And they are riches of this kind which God promises them, such as are most natural and substantial. He speaks to them neither of gold, nor silver, nor precious stones, nor fine furniture ; much less of other riches which depend more upon trade, and the inventions of men : but he says he will send rain in its season, that the earth shall bring forth corn in abundance, that the trees shall be laden with fruit, that the harvest, the vintage, and seed time, shall follow one another without interruption. Lev. xxvi, 3, &c. He promises them plenty of food, undisturbed sleep, safety, peace, and even victory over their enemies. He adds, that he will make them increase and multiply by looking favourably upon them, that his blessing shall make their wives fruitful, that he will bless their herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep, their granaries and cellars, and the works of their hands, Deut. xxviii, 4. These are the temporal good things which God allows men to expect from him.

CHAPTER V.

Their Arts and Trades.

We know no people more entirely addicted to agriculture than the Israelites. The Egyptians and Syrians joined manufactures, navigation, and trade to it: but above all, the Phœnicians, who, finding themselves straitened in point of room, from the time that the Israelites drove them out of their country, were obliged to live by trade, and be in a manner brokers and factors for all the rest of the world. The Greeks imitated them, and excelled chiefly in arts. On the contrary, the Romains despised mechanics, and applied themselves to commerce, (Joseph. cont. App. l. i, 12.) As for the Israelites their land was sufficient to maintain them; and the seacoasts were, for the most part, possessed by the Philistines and Canaanites, who were the Phœnicians. There was only the tribe of Zabulon, whose share of land lay near the sea, that had any temptation to trade: which seems to be foretold in the blessings pronounced by Jacob and Moses. Gen. xlix, 13; Deut. xxxiii, 18.

Nor do we see that they applied themselves any more to manufactures. Not that arts were not then invented: many of them are older than the flood, Gen. iv, 20–22: and we find that the Israelites had excellent workmen, at least as early as the time of Moses. Bezaleel

and Aholiab, who made the tabernacle and every thing that was necessary for the service of God, are an instance that puts this past dispute. Exod. xxxi, 2, 6; xxxvi, xxxvii, &c. It is surprising how they came to be so well skilled in arts that were not only very difficult, but very different from one another. They understood melting of metals, cutting and engraving precious stones: they were joiners, makers of tapestry, embroiderers, and perfumers.

There are two of these arts that I most of all admire, the cutting of jewels, and the casting figures, Exod. xxxi, 5; such as the cherubim of the ark, and the golden calf which was made at that time. They who understand the arts ever so little, know how much ingenuity and what a number of tools those works require. If they were invented before, it is a sign that even the arts which serve only for ornament were then brought to great perfection: and if they had any secret, to do the same thing with more ease and a less apparatus, it was still a higher degree of improvement. But this is only, by the by, to show that people were not so dull and ignorant in these ancient times as many imagine, the world being two thousand five hundred years old in the days of Moses.

But whether these two famous workmen had learnt from the Egyptians, or their skill was miraculous and inspired by God, as the Scriptures seem to say, it does not appear that they

had any to succeed them, nor that any of the Israelites were artificers by profession, and worked for the public till the time of the kings. When Saul began to reign, it is taken notice of that there was no workman that understood forging iron in all the land of Israel, 1 Sam. xiii, 19; and that they were forced to go to the Philistines to sharpen even the instruments which they used in husbandry. It is true, this was owing to the oppression of the Philistines, to hinder them from making arms. But several years after, David was obliged, when he fled, to take the sword of Goliah, which must have been rather too heavy for him, and take it too out of God's tabernacle, 1 Sam. xxi, 9, where it was hung up for a lasting monument of his victory. This makes me think there were no arms to be bought.

It seems likewise as if there was no bread sold; since upon the same occasion, Abimelech the priest was obliged to give David the show-bread; which intimates, moreover, that people kept but little bread in their houses—it may be, upon account of the country's being so hot. So the witch to whom Saul went, made him bread on purpose when she entertained him, that he might recover his strength, 1 Sam. xxviii, 24. Every one had an oven in his own house, since the law threatens them, as with a great misfortune, that ten women should bake their bread at one oven. Lev. xxvi, 26. At Rome there were no bakers till the time of the Persian war, more than five hun-

dred and eighty years after the foundation of the city.*

Were we to reckon up all trades particularly, it would appear that many would have been of no use to them. Their plain way of living, and the mildness of the climate, made that long train of conveniences unnecessary, which we think it hard to be without; though vanity and effeminacy, more than real want, have introduced them. And as to things that were absolutely necessary, there were few of them that they did not know how to make themselves. All sorts of food were cooked within doors. The women made bread and prepared the victuals, they spun wool, made stuffs and wearing apparel; the men took care of the rest.

Homer describes old Eumæus making his own shoes, and says that he had built fine stalls for the cattle he bred.† Ulysses himself built his own house, and set up his bed with great art, the structure of which served to make him known to Penelope again. (Odyss, lib. xxiii, v. 183–204.) When he left Calypso, it was he alone that built and rigged the ship; from all which we see the spirit of these ancient

* Pistores, Romæ non fuerunt ad Persicum usque bellum, annis ab urbe condita super 580. Ipsi panem faciebant Quirites, mulierum id opus erat. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xviii, c. 11.

† Αυτος δ'αμφι ποδεσσιν εοις αραρισκε πεδιλα,
Ταμινων δερμα βοειον, ευχροες.
Odyss. lib. xiv, v. 23.

Here sat Eumæus, and his care applied
To form strong buskins of well season'd hide.
Pope.

times. (Odyss. lib. v. 243–257.) It was esteemed an honour for each person to understand the making of every thing necessary for life, without any dependence upon others, and it is that which Homer most commonly calls *wisdom* and *knowledge*. Now, I must say, the authority of Homer appears to me very great in this case. As he lived about the time of the Prophet Elijah, and in Asia Minor, all the accounts that he gives of the Greek and Trojan customs, have a wonderful resemblance with what the Scripture informs us of concerning the manners of the Hebrews and other eastern people, (Marm. Arundel;) only the Greeks, not being so ancient, were not so polite.

But, however it might be in former times, we are sure that David left a great number of artificers in his kingdom of all sorts; masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and, indeed, all such as work in stone, wood, and metals. 1 Chron. xxii, 15, 16. And that we may not think they were strangers, it is said that Solomon chose out of Israel thirty thousand workmen, and that he had seventy thousand that bare burdens, and eighty thousand hewers in the mountains. 1 Kings v, 13, 15. It is true he borrowed workmen of the king of Tyre, 1 Kings v, 1–12; vii, 13, &c.; and owned that *his* subjects did not understand cutting wood so well as the Sidonians, and that he sent for Hiram, an excellent founder, to make the sacred vessels.

But, luxury increasing after the division of the two kingdoms, there is reason to believe they had always plenty of workmen. In the genealogy of the tribe of Judah, we may observe, there is a place called the *valley of craftsmen*,* because, says the Scripture, they dwelt there. There is likewise mention made in the same place of people that wrought fine linen, and of potters who worked for the king and dwelt in his gardens. All this shows the respect that was paid to famous mechanics, and the care that was taken to preserve their memory. The Prophet Isaiah, among his menaces against Jerusalem, foretells that God will take away from her the *cunning artificers*, Isaiah iii, 3 : and when it was taken it is often said that they carried away the very workmen. 2 Kings xxiv, 14. But we have a proof from Ezekiel that they never had any considerable manufactures when the prophet, describing the abundance of their merchandize which came to Tyre, mentions nothing brought from the land of Judah and Israel but wheat, oil, resin, and balm, Ezek. xxvii, 17 ; all of them commodities that the earth itself produced.

These were the employments of the Israel-

* 1 Chron. iv, 14. The valley of craftsmen גיא חרשים *gia charashim*, translated *vallis artificum*, by the Vulgate, חרש *charash*, signifies to work in iron, wood, stone, pottery, &c., and *Joab*, the person mentioned in the text, is styled by Rabbi Joseph's Targum, the *chief* or superintendent of the *craftsmen* or *artificers*.

ites, and their manner of subsisting. Let us now come to something more particular, and describe their apparel, their houses, furniture, food, and whole manner of living, as exactly as we can. They rose early, as the Scripture observes in a great number of places, that is, as often as it mentions any action, though never so inconsiderable. Hence it comes that, in their style, *to rise early* signifies, in general, to do a thing sedulously, and with a good will: thus it is frequently said, that *God rose up early* to send the prophets to his people, and exhort them to repentance. 2 Chron. xxxvii, 15. It is a consequence of country labour. The Greeks and Romans followed the same custom: they rose very early, and worked till night: they bathed, supped, and went to bed in good time.

CHAPTER VI.

Their Wearing Apparel.*

As to the clothes of the Israelites, we cannot know exactly the shape of them. They had no pictures or statues, and there is no coming at a right notion of these things without seeing them.

* There is every reason to believe that the dress of the Jews was similar to that of the ancient Egyptians; and, as many statues and monuments of Egyptian antiquity still remain, we may see by them what the ancient Jewish habits were. A *tunic* was the principal part of their dress: this was made nearly in the

But one may give a guess at them from the statues which remain of the Greeks and other nations: for, as to modern pictures, most of them serve only to give us false ideas. I do not speak only of those Gothic paintings in which every person, let him have lived *where* and *when* he would, is dressed like those the painter was used to see,—that is, as the French or Germans were some hundred years ago,—I mean the works of the greatest painters except Raphael, Poussin, and some few others that have thoroughly studied the *manner* or *costume* of each age, as they call it. All the rest have had no more sense than to paint the people of the east such as they saw at Venice or other parts of Italy; and for the stories of the New Testament, they painted the Jews like those of their own country. However, as most Scripture painting is copied from these originals, we have taken the impression of it from our infancy, and are used to form to our-

form of our present *shirt*. A round hole was cut at the top merely to permit the head to pass through. Sometimes it had *long* sleeves which reached down to the wrists; at other times *short* sleeves which reached to the elbow; and some had *very short* sleeves which reached only to the middle of the upper arm, and some had no sleeves at all. The *tunic* was nearly the same with the Roman *stola*, and was, in general, girded around the waist or under the breasts with the *zona* or girdle. Beside the *tunic* they wore the *pallium* which covered the shoulders and back, and was the same with the *chlamys* of the Greeks. Indeed, all these ancient nations seem to have had nearly the same dress.

selves an idea of the patriarchs with turbans, and beards down to their waist; and of the Pharisees in the gospel with hoods and pouches. There is no great evil in being deceived in all this; but it is better not be deceived, if possible.

The ancients commonly wore long garments, as most nations in the world still do, and as we ourselves did in Europe not above two hundred years ago. One may much sooner cover the whole body all at once, than each part of it singly; and long garments have more dignity and gracefulness. In hot countries they always wore a wide dress, and never concerned themselves about covering the arms or legs, or wore any thing upon the feet but soles fastened in different ways. Thus their dress took but little making: it was only a large piece of cloth shaped into a garment; there was nothing to cut, and not much to sew. They had likewise the art of weaving gowns with sleeves all of one piece, and without seam, as our Saviour's coat was. John xix, 23.

The fashions never changed, nor do they now, in any part of the east. And since clothes are made to cover the body, and men's bodies are alike in all ages, there is no occasion for the prodigious variety of dresses, and such frequent changes, as we are used to. It is reasonable to seek that which is most convenient, that the body may be sufficiently defended against the injuries of the weather according to the climate and season, and be at perfect

liberty in all its motions. There must be a proper respect paid to decency, age, sex, and profession. One may have an eye, likewise, to the handsomeness of clothes, provided, under that pretence, we do not wear uneasy ornaments, and are contented, as the ancients were, with agreeable colours and natural drapery: but when once we have found what is handsome and convenient, we ought by no means to change.

Nor are they the *wisest* people who invent new fashions: they are generally *women* and *young people*, with the assistance of *mercers*, *milliners*, and *tailors*, who have no other view but their own interest. Yet these trifles have very grievous consequences. The expense occasioned by superfluous ornaments and the *changing of fashions* is very hard upon most people of moderate circumstances, and is one reason that marrying is so difficult; it is a continual source of quarrels between the old and young, and the reverence for ancient times is much lessened by it. Young fantastical people, when they see their ancestors' pictures in dresses which are only ridiculous because they are not used to them, can hardly believe they were persons of a good understanding, or their maxims fit to be followed. In a word, they that pretend to be so very nice and exact in their dress must spend a great deal of their time in it, and make it a study, of no use, surely, toward improving their minds or rendering them capable of great undertakings.

As the ancients did not change their fashions, the rich had always great quantities of clothes by them, and were not liable to the inconvenience of waiting for a new suit or having it made up in haste. Lucullus had five thousand cloaks in his wardrobe,* which was a sort of military dress; by which we may judge of what he had beside. It was common to make presents of clothes; and then they always gave two suits, for change, and that one might be worn while the other was washing, as we do with our sets of linen.

The stuffs were generally made of wool. In Egypt and Syria they wore also fine linen, cotton, and byssus, which was finer than all the rest. This byssus, which the Scripture so often mentions, is a sort of silk of a golden yellow that grows upon great shell fish.—(Gesner. Hist. Anim. l. iv, de Pinnâ.) As to our silk made from worms, it was unknown in the time of the Israelites, and the use of it did not become common on this side the Indies till

* —— Chlamydes Lucullus, ut aiunt,
Si posset centum scenæ præbere rogatus,
Qui possum tot? ait: ———
—— post paulò scribit, sibi *millia quinque*
Esse domi *Chlamydum*.
HORAT. Epist. lib i, E. vi, v. 40-41.

As this was a kind of military dress, it is probable that Lucullus had them principally for the purpose of clothing his soldiers. Lucullus commaded the Roman armies against *Mithridates*, king of Pontus, and *Tigranes*, king of Armenia, and was honoured with a triumph in the year 691. He is accused of being the first who introduced luxury among the Romans.

more than five hundred years after Christ. The beauty of their clothes consisted in the fineness and colour of the stuff. The most esteemed were the white and the purple, red or violet. And it seems *white* was the colour most in use among the Israelites, as well as the Greeks and Romans; since Solomon says, *Let thy garments be always white*, Eccles. ix, 8, meaning clean. Nothing in reality can be plainer than to make use of wool or flax just as nature produces it, without dying. Young people of both sexes wore clothes variegated with divers colours. Such was Joseph's coat which his brethren spoiled him of when they sold him, Gen. xxxvii, 32; and of the same sort were the gowns which kings' daughters wore in the time of David. 2 Sam. xiii, 18.

The ornaments of their habits were fringes or borders of purple or embroidery, and clasps of gold or precious stones, where they were necessary. Greatness consisted in changing dress often, and wearing only such clothes as were thoroughly clean and whole. Besides, nobody will doubt that the Israelites went very plain in their dress, if we consider how remarkable the Greeks and Romans were for it even in the time of their greatest luxury. We see it in ancient statues, Trajan's pillar, and other pieces of sculpture.

The garments commonly mentioned in Scripture are the *tunic* and *mantle:* and the Greek and Roman dress consisted of these two only. (See the note on p. 75.) The tunic

was made wide, to leave freedom of motion at work: they loosed it when they were unemployed; but in travelling or at work they tied it up with a girdle. Thence comes the phrase so frequent in Scripture, *Arise, gird up thy loins, and do this.* The Israelites were ordered to wear ribands of blue on the borders of their garments, to make them continually mindful of the law of God. Num. xv. 38. They had the head covered with a sort of tiara like that of the Persians and Chaldeans, for it was a sign of mourning to go bareheaded: and they wore their own hair, for to be shaved was another mark of affliction. As to the beard, it is very certain they wore it long, by the instance of the ambassadors that David sent to the king of the Ammonites, half of whose beards that ill advised prince shaved off to affront them, 2 Sam. x, 4; so that they were forced to stay some time at Jericho to let their beards grow again, before they could have the face to show themselves: he also caused their clothes to be cut off in the middle, and in such a manner as shows they wore them very long.

They bathed frequently, as is still the custom in hot countries, and washed their feet still oftener; because, wearing nothing but sandals, they could not walk without gathering much dust. Thence it comes that the Scripture speaks so much of washing the feet at first coming into a house, at sitting down to victuals, and going to bed. Now, because water dries the skin and hair, they anointed

themselves, either with plain oil, or such as had aromatic spices infused in it, which was commonly called *ointment.* This custom still prevails in the East Indies.

We see in several parts of the Scripture after what manner the women dressed and adorned themselves. God, reproaching Jerusalem with her breaches of faith, under the figure of a husband, who has brought his wife out of the greatest misery to heap blessings upon her, says, by the Prophet Ezekiel, that he has given her very fine stuffs, and of different colours, a silken girdle, purple shoes, bracelets, a necklace, earrings, Ezek. xvi, 10, 11, &c., and a crown or rather mitre,* such as the Syrian women used a great while after; that he adorned her with gold and silver, and the most costly raiment. When Judith dressed herself to go to Holofernes, it is said that she washed and anointed herself, that she braided her hair, and put attire upon her head; that she put on her garments of gladness, with sandals upon her feet, and adorned herself with bracelets, earrings, and rings upon her fingers. Judith x, 3, &c. In a word, we

* Ite, quibus grata est picta lupa barbara mitra.
Juv. Sat. iii, v. 66.

The barbarous harlots crowd the public place;
Go, fools, and purchase an unclean embrace;
The painted *mitre* court, and the more painted face.
Dryden.

Mitres, variously painted and ornamented, are still used by the women of the east.

cannot desire a more particular account of these female ornaments than what we read in Isaiah when he reproaches the daughters of Sion with their vanity and luxury, Isaiah iii, 16, &c.; for corruption was then got to the highest pitch.

CHAPTER VII.

Their Houses and Furniture.

THERE was occasion for much less furniture in those hot countries than in ours; and their plainness in all other respects gives us reason to think they had but little. The law often speaks of wooden and earthen vessels; and earthen ware was very common among the Greeks and Romans, before luxury had crept in among them. They are mentioned among the things that were brought for the refreshment of David, during the war with Absalom. 2 Sam. xvii, 28. We see the furniture that was thought necessary, in the words of the Shunamite woman who lodged the Prophet Elisha: *Let us make* (said she to her husband) *a little chamber for the man of God, and set for him there a bed, a table, a stool, and a candlestick.* 2 Kings iv, 10. Their beds were no more than couches without curtains, except they were such light coverings as the Greeks called *canopies*,* because they served to keep off the

* *Konopeion* from Κωνωπ, *a gnat.*

gnats. The great people had ivory bedsteads, Amos vi, 4, as the Prophet Amos reproaches the wealthy in his time; and they that were most delicate made their beds very soft, decked them with rich stuffs, and sprinkled them with odoriferous waters. Prov. vii, 16, 17. They placed the beds against the wall; for it is said, when Hezekiah was threatened that he should die soon, he turned his face to the wall to weep. 2 Kings xx, 2.

The candlestick mentioned among Elisha's furniture was, probably, one of those great ones that were set upon the ground to hold one or more lamps.* Till then, and a long while after, even in the time of the Romans, they burned nothing but oil to give light. Thence it is so common in Scripture to call every thing that enlightens the body or mind, whatever guides or refreshes, by the name of *lamp*. There is not much reason to think they had tapestry in their houses. They have occasion for little in hot countries, because bare walls are cooler. They make use only of carpets

* I have now before me a *cast* from a lamp brought by Mr. Jackson (author of *A Journey from India over Land*, &c., 8vo, Lond. 1799,) from the ruins of Herculaneum; it is circular, twenty-two inches in diameter, and contains places for twelve lights. The oil is put into a large cavity in the centre, which is covered with a lid, and with this cavity all the wick places communicate. It is finely ornamented on the top, with the thyrses and marks alternately placed. As there are no ornaments on the under side, it is evidently one of that kind mentioned above, which stood upon a table, or was placed on the ground.

to sit and lie upon, and Ezekiel speaks of them among the merchandise which the Arabians brought to Tyre. Ezek. xxvii, 24. They are also mentioned among the things provided for David's refreshment, which would incline one to think the Israelites used them in camp, for in houses they had chairs.*

Their houses differed from ours in all that we see still in hot countries. Their roofs are flat—the windows closed with lattices or curtains; they have no chimneys, and lie for the most part on a ground floor.

We have a great many proofs in Scripture that roofs were *flat* in and about the land of Israel. Rahab hid the spies of Joshua upon the roof of the house. Joshua ii, 6. When Samuel acquainted Saul that God had chosen him to be king, he made him lie all night upon the roof of the house, which is still usual in hot countries. 1 Sam. ix, 25. David was walking upon the roof of his palace, when he saw Bathsheba bathing. 2 Sam. xi, 2. When Absalom had rebelled against his father, he caused a tent to be raised upon the roof of the same palace where he lay with his father's concubines. 2 Sam. xvi, 22. This action was in a manner taking possession of the kingdom, and was made public to show that he was determined never to return to his duty. They ran to the tops of their houses upon great alarms, as is plain from

* 2 Sam. xvii, 28, where they are termed *beds* or *couches*.

two passages in Isaiah xv, 3, and xxi, 1. All this shows the reason of the law that ordered a battlement to be raised quite around the roof, lest any body should fall down and be killed, Deut. xxii, 8, and explains the expression in the gospel, *What you have heard in the ear, publish on the house tops.* Every house was a scaffold ready built for any one that had a mind to make himself heard at a distance.

The casements of windows are taken notice of in the Proverbs, vii, 6 ; the Song of Solomon, ii, 9, and the story of the death of Ahaziah, king of Israel, 2 Kings i, 2.

When King Jehoiakim burned the book which Jeremiah had written by the order of God, he was sitting in his winter house with a fire on the hearth burning before him. Jer. xxxvi, 22. Whence one may judge they had no chimneys ;*

* The fire which the king had *before* him is supposed to have been in a movable stove, whence the Vulgate translates it *arula coram eo, plena prunis ;* and therefore had no fixed chimney to it. And that the ancients had none, has been asserted by several of the learned, particularly by Manutius, in Cic. Fam. l. vii, Ep. x, and Lipsius, Ep. ad Belgas, iii, 75, and that the smoke went out at the windows, or at the tops of the houses. Cato (de Re. Rust. c. xviii) says, *focum purum circumversum, priusquam cubitumeat, habeat.* The hearth could not be swept *around*, if it was, as with us, built in a chimney. Columella, l. xi, c. ult., speaks of the smoke adhering to the ceilings over the hearth : *Fuligoquæ supra focos tectis inhæret, colligi debet.* Seneca, Ep. 90, describes stove tubes, then lately invented, placed around the walls of the rooms, to throw an equal warmth into them. On the other hand, Dan. Barbarus, in his comment on

which indeed are the invention of cold countries. In hot climates they were satisfied with stoves for the kitchen. They made use of stone in building, especially at Jerusalem, where it was very common, and they knew how to cut it into very large pieces. There is mention made, in Solomon's buildings, of stones eight or ten cubits long, that is, twelve or fifteen feet;* and those called *costly stones* are doubtless different sorts of marble. 1 Kings vii, 9, 10.

The beauty of their buildings consisted less in ornaments placed in certain parts than in the whole model; in cutting and joining the stones, they took care to have all even and well dressed by the level and square. This is what Homer says of the building he commends, and this sort of beauty is still admired in the

Vitruvius, and Ferrarius, i, 9, maintain that they often had chimneys: but only in the upper rooms, *in cœnationibus*, which is a reason why no remains of them are found, the highest stories first falling to ruin. Aristophanes, Vesp. i, 2, 8, introduces an old man, shut up by his son, endeavouring to escape up the chimney. Herodot. vii, p. 578, 579, mentions the sun shining upon the hearth down the chimney: and Appian, B. C. civ, says, Some of the proscribed hid themselves in jakes, some in wells, some in chimneys. The reader may see more in the above cited authors. E. F.

* Josephus says that the stones with which the temple was built, "were white and strong, *fifty feet* long, *twenty-four* broad, and *sixteen* in thickness." (Antiq. b. xv, c. xi.) Our Lord's disciples are represented as struck with wonder at seeing such immense masses wrought up in the walls of the temple. Mark xiii, 1.

ancient Egyptian edifices. The Israelites made use of fragrant woods, as cedar and cypress, to wainscot the inside of the most pompous buildings, and out of these they made the ceiling and pillars. 2 Sam. v, 11. This was used in the temple, and Solomon's palaces, Song of Sol. iii, 6 : and David says that *he dwells in a house of cedar*, 2 Sam. vii, 2, to express the magnificence of his apartments.

CHAPTER VIII.

Their Diet.

As to what regards the table, the Israelites ate sitting, as the Greeks did in Homer's time: and it is necessary to take notice of it, to distinguish one period from another. For afterward, that is to say, from the reign of the Persians, they ate lying upon beds, Esther i, 6, 7, 8, as the Persians and other eastern people did, from whom the Romans also took the custom. Regular people did not eat till after their work, and pretty late. Wherefore, eating and drinking early in the morning signify intemperance and debauchery in Scripture. Isa. v, 11. Their food was plain. They commonly mention only eating bread and drinking water ; which is the reason that the word *bread* is generally taken in Scripture for all sorts of victuals. They broke their bread without cutting it, because they made use of none but small, long taper

rolls, as is still done in several countries.* The first favour that Boaz showed Ruth, was to let her drink of the same water with his young men, and come and eat with them, and dip her morsel in the vinegar, Ruth ii, 9, 14; and we see, by the compliments she made in return, that this was no small favour.

We may judge of their most common provisions by the refreshment David received at different times from Abigail, Ziba, and Barzillai, and by what was brought to him at Hebron. 1 Sam. xxv, 18; 2 Sam. xvi, 1; xvii, 28. The sorts there mentioned are *bread* and *wine*, *wheat* and *barley*, *flour* of both, *beans*, *lentiles*, *parched corn*, *raisins*, *dried figs*, *honey*, *butter*, *oil*, *sheep*, *oxen*, and *fat calves*. There is in this account a great deal of *corn* and *pulse*, which was also the most common food of the ancient Egyptians, and of the Romans in the best times, when they gave themselves most to husbandry. Hence came the illustrious names of *Fabius*, *Piso*, *Cicero*, and *Lentulus*.† The advice of the wise man shows the use the Israelites made of milk. *Take care*, (says he,) *that thou have*

* Or rather thin crisp perforated cakes, called in Scripture נקדים *nakudeem*, such as the Jews frequently make to the present day, and which are still common in the east.

† Clem. Alex. 2 Pædag. I, in fine. See also Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xviii, c, 3, where he shows that the *Pilumni* were so called for having invented the *pestle*, the *Pisones* from *pounding* the *corn:* the *Fabii*, *Cicerones*, and *Lentuli* from their delighting to sow and rear *beans*, *vetches* and *lentiles*.

goat's milk enough for thy food, for the food of thy household, and for maintenance to thy maidens. Prov. xxvii, 27.

Though it was lawful to eat fish, I do not find that it is mentioned till the later times. It is believed the ancients despised it as too dainty and light food for robust men. (Plato, Rep. iii.) Neither does Homer speak of it, or the Greeks, in what they write relating to the heroic times. We hear but little of sauces, or high-seasoned dishes among the Hebrews. Their feasts consisted of substantial, well-fed meat: and they reckoned milk and honey their greatest dainties. Indeed, before sugar was brought from the Indies, there was nothing known more agreeable to the taste than honey. They preserved fruits in it, and mixed it in the nicest pastry. Instead of milk, they often mention butter, that is, cream, which is the finest part of it. The offerings prescribed by the law show that, ever since the time of Moses, they had divers sorts of pastry, Lev. ii, 4, 5, &c., some kneaded with oil, others without it.

And here we must not omit the distinction of meats allowed or forbidden by the law. It was not peculiar to the Hebrews to abstain from certain animals out of a religious principle; the neighbouring people did the same. Neither the Syrians nor Egyptians ate any fish; and some have thought it was superstition that made the ancient Greeks not eat it. The Egyptians of Thebes would eat no mutton, because they worshipped Ammon under the

shape of a ram; (Herod. ii;) but they killed goats. In other places they abstained from goats' flesh, and sacrificed sheep. The Egyptian priests used no meat nor drink imported from foreign countries: (Porphyr. Abstin. iv:) and, as to the product of their own, beside fish, they abstained from beasts that have a round foot or divided into several toes, or that have no horns; and birds that live upon flesh. Many would eat nothing that had life; and in the times of their purification they would not touch so much as eggs, herbs, or garden stuff. None of the Egyptians would eat beans. (Herod, ii.) They accounted swine unclean: whoever touched one, though in passing by, washed himself and his clothes. Socrates, in his Commonwealth, reckons eating swine's flesh among the superfluous things introduced by luxury. (Plato ii, Rep.) Indeed, they are of no use but for the table. Every body knows that the Indian Bramins still neither eat nor kill any sort of animal, and it is certain they have not done it for more than two thousand years.

The law of Moses then had nothing new or extraordinary in this point: the design of it was to keep the people within reasonable bounds, and to prevent their imitating the superstitions of some other nations, without leaving them quite at liberty, of which they might have made a bad use. For this abstinence from particular sorts of meat contributed to the preservation both of their health and morals. It was not only to tame their untractable spirit that God

imposed this yoke, but to wean them from things that might be prejudicial. (See the note on page 16.) They were forbidden to eat blood or fat,—both are hard of digestion,—and though strong working people, as the Israelites, might find less inconvenience from it than others, it was better to provide wholesome food for them, since it was a matter of option. Swine's flesh lies heavy upon the stomach, and affords a very gross species of nutriment: so do fish that have no scales. The solid part is fat and oily, whether it be tender, as that of eels, or hard, as that of tunny, whale, or others of the same kind. Thus we may easily account for most of these things being forbidden, as Clemens Alexandrinus has observed. (2 Pæd. 1. Cassian. Inst. 5.)

As to the moral reasons, all sensible people have ever reckoned gluttony a vice that ought principally to be guarded against as the beginning of most others. The Socratic philosophers strongly recommended temperance; and Plato despaired of reforming the manners of the Sicilians, so long as they ate *two* great meals a day.*

It is supposed that what Pythagoras aimed at by enjoining abstinence was to make men just and disinterested, in using themselves to live on a little. Now, one of the chief branches

* Plat. Ep. vii, in Init. But, had he lived in these latter times, how great must his astonishment have been, to find persons, Christians, professing the utmost purity of manners and elevation of mind, feeding themselves *four*, yea, *six* or *seven* times in the day!

of gluttony is a desire of variety of dishes. Too much soon palls; but, as variety is infinite, the desire after it is insatiable. Tertullian comprehends all these reasons in the following passage:—"If the law takes away the use of some sorts of meat, and pronounces creatures unclean that were formerly held quite otherwise, let us consider that the design is to inure them to temperance; and look upon it as a restraint laid upon gluttons, who hankered after the cucumbers and melons of Egypt while they were eating the food of angels. Let us consider it too as a remedy at the same time against excess and impurity, the usual attendants of gluttony. It was partly likewise to extinguish the love of money, by taking away the pretence of its being necessary for providing of sustenance. It was, finally, to enable men to fast with less inconvenience upon religious occasions, by using them to a moderate and plain diet." (Tertullian adv. Marc. lib. ii, cap. 18, in fine.)

CHAPTER IX.

Their Purifications.

THE purifications prescribed by the law had the same foundation as the distinction of meats. The neighbouring people practised some of the like nature: among others the Egyptians, whose priests shaved off all their hair every three days, and washed their bodies all over twice

in the night, and two or three times a day. (Herod. l. ii, Porphyr. de Abstin.) The legal purifications of the Israelites were of advantage in preserving both their health and morals. The cleanness of the body is a symbol of the purity of the soul: which is the reason that some devout people have affected to be dirty to make themselves more despicable, and to show the plainer, by their outward appearance, the abhorrence they had of their sins. Thence, too, external purification is called *sanctification*, because it makes those observe, at least, an outward purity who draw near to holy things. Nay, one may venture to say that cleanliness is a natural consequence of virtue; since filthiness, for the most part, proceeds only from sloth and meanness of spirit.*

Besides, cleanliness is necessary to preserve health and prevent sickness, especially in hot countries: accordingly we find people generally cleanlier there. Heat inclines them to strip themselves to bathe, and often change their clothes. But in the cold countries we are afraid both of the air and water, and are more benumbed and sluggish. It is certain, the nastiness in which most of our lower sort of people live, especially the poorest and those that are in towns, either causes or increases many dis-

* A great man has asserted that "cleanliness is next to godliness." And we generally find cleanliness practised in proportion to the prevalence of the spirit of genuine piety. Christianity disowns the slothful and the filthy, as well as the dishonest and the impure.

tempers. What would be the consequence then in hot countries, where the air is sooner corrupted, and the water more scarce? Besides, the ancients made but little use of linen; and woollen is not so easy to be cleansed.

Here let us admire the wisdom and goodness of God, who gave his people laws that were useful so many different ways: for they served altogether to inure them to obedience, to keep them from superstition, to improve their manners, and preserve their health. Thus, in the formation of plants and animals, we see many parts serve for different uses. Now, it was a matter of consequence that the precepts that enjoined cleanliness should make a part of their religion; for as they related to what was done within doors, and the most secret actions of life, nothing but the fear of God could keep the people from transgressing them. Yet God formed their conscience by these sensible things, and made it familiar to them to own that nothing is hidden from him, and that it is not sufficient to be pure in the eyes of men alone. Tertullian understands these laws so when he says, "He has prescribed every thing, even in the common transactions of life, and the behaviour of men both at home and abroad, so far as to take notice of their very furniture and vessels: so that meeting every where the precepts of the law, they might not be one moment without the fear of God before them." And afterward, "to aid this law, which was rather light than burdensome, the same goodness of God also instituted

prophets, who taught maxims worthy of him. (In Marc. l. ii, c. 19.) '*Wash ye, make ye clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes, &c.*'" Isa. i, 16. So that the people were sufficiently instructed in the meaning of all these ceremonies and outward performances.

This is the foundation of those laws which order bathing and washing one's clothes after having touched a dead body, or unclean creature, and upon several other accidents. Lev. xi, 24, &c.; xiii, 58; Numb. xxxi, 23. Thence comes the purifying of vessels by water or fire, and of houses where there appeared any corruption, and of women after child-bearing, and the separation of lepers; Lev. xiv, 48; xii, 1, &c.; xiii, 1, &c.; though the white leprosy, which is the only sort mentioned in Scripture, is rather a deformity than an infectious disease. (Aug. ii, Quæst. Evang. 40.)

It belonged to the priests to separate lepers, to judge of other legal impurities, and to order the manner of their cleansing. Thus they practised a branch of physic; and though physicians are sometimes mentioned in Scripture, Gen. l, 2; 2 Chron. xvi, 12; Job xiii, 4; Jer. viii, 22; Isaiah iii, 7, it is probable surgeons are meant: for the ancients made no distinction between these two professions. The law speaks of them when it condemns him that hurts another to pay the physician's charges, Exod. xxi, 19: and in other places we read of bandages, plasters, and ointments, Isa. i, 6;

Jer. viii, 22; xlvi, 11, but nowhere, that I can tell, of purges, or a course of physic. King Asa, who had the gout, is blamed for putting too much confidence in physicians. 2 Chron. xvi, 12. Perhaps the Israelites still followed the same maxims as the Greeks of the heroic ages, when physicians, as Plato iii, Rep. informs us, applied themselves to nothing but healing wounds by topical remedies, without prescribing a regimen: supposing that other illnesses would be prevented or easily got over by a good constitution, and the prudent management of the sick. As for wounds, they must of necessity happen sometimes from divers accidents, even in the course of hard labour only.

The Israelites avoided conversing with strangers, and it was a consequence of those laws that enjoined purifications and distinction of meats. For, though most of their neighbours had similar customs, they were not altogether the same. Thus, an Israelite had always a right to presume that any stranger he met with had eaten swine's flesh, or the sacrifices offered to idols, or had touched some unclean beast. Whence it came, that it was not lawful to eat with them, nor to go into their houses. This distance was also of consequence to their morals, serving as a fence against too great a familiarity with strangers, which is always pernicious to the generality, and which was still more so at that time because of idolatry. The Egyptians were strict observers of this maxim;

the Scripture takes notice that they would not eat with the Hebrews; Gen. xliii, 32; and Herodotus says, they would neither salute a Greek, nor make use of his knife or plate.* The Mohammedans have several customs of the same nature at this day; but the Hindoos have more, and observe them with the greatest superstition.†

They did not keep at an equal distance from all sorts of strangers, though they comprehended them all under the name of *Goim* or *Gentiles*. They abhorred all idolaters, especially those that were not circumcised: for they were not the only people that practised circumcision; it was used by all the descendants of Abraham, as the Ishmaelites, Midianites, and Idumeans; and the Ammonites and Moabites that were descended from Lot. The Egyptians themselves, though their original was in no case the same with the Hebrews, looked upon circumcision as a necessary purification, and held those unclean that were not circumcised.‡ As

* Herod. ii. This superstition the Egyptians carried so far that they would not eat the flesh even of a clean animal, that had been cut up with the knife of a *Greek*.

† For several of these customs see the supplementary chapter.

‡ Herod. lib. 2, p. 115, edit. Steph. 1592. The same author says, that the Colchians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians, are the only nations in the world who have used circumcision from the remotest period, *απ' αρχης*, and that the Phœnicians and the Syrians who inhabit Palestine, acknowledge they received this from the Egyptians. Ibid. p. 143.

for the Israelites, they bore with the uncircumcised that worshipped the true God, so far as to let them dwell in their land, provided they observed the laws of nature, and abstinence from blood. But if they got themselves circumcised, they were reputed children of Abraham, and consequently obliged to observe the whole law of Moses. The rabbins call these last *proselytes of justice;* and the faithful that were not circumcised they call *proselytes by abode*, or *Noachides*, (Selden de Jure Nat.) as being obliged to observe no precepts but those that God gave to Noah when he came out of the ark. In Solomon's time there were one hundred and fifty-three thousand six hundred proselytes in the land of Israel. 2 Chron. ii, 17.

The strangers that the Israelites were most of all obliged to avoid were the nations that lay under a curse, as descended from Canaan, whom God had commanded them to root out. I find none but them, as I said before, with whom it was not lawful to marry. Exod. xxxiv, 16; Deut. vii, 3. Moses married a Midianite.*

* If our author's comment be right, Dr. Warburton is mistaken in saying Solomon transgressed a law of Moses, when he married Pharaoh's daughter. (*Div. Leg.* book iv, sect. v. 2d edit.) And Dr. Jortin might less admire Theodoret's parallel between Moses and Christ, in that the former married an Ethiopian woman, and the latter espoused the church of the Gentiles. There was nothing so particular in the marriage of Moses: and if there had been, the similitude, I think, would have been closer if Moses had married two wives, for the Jews were the first-fruits of the

Boaz is commended for having married Ruth the Moabite. Absalom's mother was the king of Geshur's daughter. 2 Sam. iii, 3. Amasa was the son of an Ishmaelite, and of Abigail, David's sister. 1 Chron. ii, 17. Solomon married the king of Egypt's daughter, soon after he came to the crown, and at the time when he was most in God's favour: 1 Kings iii, 1: therefore what the Scripture afterward says, to blame his marrying with strange women, must be understood of the Canaanitish woman whom he married, and that, instead of endeavouring to convert them, he paid them such a criminal complaisance as to worship their idols. 1 Kings xi, 1.

Much more were marriages free among the Israelites; and it was not necessary for every one to marry in his own tribe, as many, even of the fathers of the church, have thought. This law was peculiar to heiresses, that inheritances might not be confounded.† Besides,

gospel. (See Dr. Jortin's *Remarks on Eccles. Hist.* vol. i, p. 209.) E. F.

* Heiresses were obliged to marry not only within their own *tribe*, but within their own *family*. Num. xxxvi, 6. *Let them marry to whom they think best, only to the* FAMILY *of the* TRIBE (OR HOUSE) *of their fathers shall they marry.* And that the Jews so understood the law appears from Judith viii, 2; Tobit iii, 15. This I chose to observe, because a late ingenious writer, who would seem to have examined this point, says, *It does not appear that there was any other obligation even upon heiresses than to marry only within their own* TRIBE. (Dr. Middleton's reflections on the inconsistencies which are found in the four Evangelists,

David married Michal, the daughter of Saul, of the tribe of Benjamin: and another of his wives was Ahinoam of Jezreel, a city of the tribe of Ephraim. 2 Sam. iii, 2.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER IX.

On the Purifications of the Hindoos and Mohammedans. Referred to p. 98.

PURIFICATIONS among the *Hindoos* make an essential part of religion. Several of those at present in use among this people are dictated by common sense and expediency, but the far greater part are the issue of the grossest superstition. In this latter class are found many that are absurd, nugatory, and ridiculous. The following, which I have extracted from the *Ayeen Akbery*, will exhibit a satisfactory view of this subject.

The soul, say the Hindoo sages, is purified by knowledge and religious worship. A drunkard is purified by melted glass. When the body is defiled by any impurity that proceeds from itself, it is purified by earth and water, and by washing the teeth and eyes. Water that has

in his works, 8vo., vol. ii, p. 309.) Not only the words of the law, and the practice of the Jews, but Grotius, and the other commentators which he had before him, expressly taught him otherwise. (See likewise Kidder's Dem. of the Messiah, part ii, p. 416–417, where the reader, if he pleases, may find three or four other of the doctor's assertions fully confuted.) E. F.

been defiled by the shadow of an impure person is purified by sunshine, moonshine, or wind. If any filth falls from an animal into a well, they must draw out sixty jars of water; and if the same accident happen to a pond, they must take out one hundred jars. If any filth falls into oil, it must be boiled. Cotton, molasses, or grain, after separating whatever had defiled it, must be sprinkled with water. Gold, silver, stone, vegetables, silk, and whatever grows in the earth, are purified by being washed in water. If they have been defiled by unclean oil, they must be washed in hot water. Wooden vessels, if touched by an impure person, cannot be purified by any means. But if they are touched by another unclean thing, or by a *Sooder* (one of the inferior Hindoo castes) they may be purified by scraping. The same rule is to be observed of bone or horn. Any stone vessel that has been defiled, after being washed, must be buried for seven days. A sieve, or pestle and mortar, is purified by being sprinkled with water. An earthen vessel is purified by being heated in the fire. The earth is cleansed by sweeping, or by washing, or by lighting a fire upon it; or if a cow lies down upon it or walks over it, or in time it will purify itself. If a cow touches any food with her mouth, or a hair, a fly, or any other insect falls therein, it is purified by ashes or water. If it is defiled by any filth falling off the body of the person who is eating, he must wash it with water, or scour it with earth till it is perfectly clean. If

a man defile himself in the upper parts of the body, excepting the hands, he must scour himself with earth, and bathe. If he defiles himself in the lower parts, he is purified by washing the parts. If he is defiled by drinking wine, or by having connection with an impure woman, or by any human excrement, he is purified by washing, scouring with earth, and by washing again, if below the navel; but if it happens above the navel, then after the second washing, he must anoint the parts with ghee, (clarified butter,) cow's milk and curds, and cow's dung and urine, and he must also drink three handfuls of river water. If he is defiled by the touch of a washerman, or a dealer in leather, or an executioner, or a hunter, or a fisherman, or an oilman, or a tame dog, he is purified by water alone. But if he touch an unclean woman, a sweeper, a sinner, a corpse, a dog, ass, cat, crow, cock, or hen, or a mouse, or a camel, or is defiled by the smoke of a corpse that is burning, or by the dust shaken off an ass, dog, sheep, or goat, he must go into the water with his clothes on, look at the sun, and repeat some particular prayers. If he touches human fat or bone, he must bathe with his clothes on, or drink three handfuls of water, or look at the sun, or put his hand upon a cow. If he is soiled with the blood of clean animals, he is purified by scouring himself with earth and water. If a garment of wool or silk is polluted by such things as would require a man, if touched, to bathe, it is purified by the

wind or sunshine. (Ayeen Akbery, v. iii, p. 243.)

Is it not reasonable to suppose that, if that pure and rational system of salvation, laid down in the Christian Scriptures, were fairly proposed to a people groaning under such burdensome and useless rites, it would be most joyfully received? But, alas! so perverted is the soul of man, that he would rather "spend his money for that which is not bread, and his labour for that which satisfieth not," than receive the salvation of God "without money and without price."

Among the *Mohammedans* purification is considered as essential to devotion, and the key of prayer, without which it is of no effect. It is of two descriptions, the *ghosse* or complete ablution of the whole body; and the *wazoo* or washing of the hands and feet on particular occasions, and after a particular manner. In many respects the purifications among the Mohammedans are similar to those among the Jews. Indeed Mohammed copied many from the Jewish Scriptures, of which he made a pretty extensive use in composing his Koran. (See the Hedaya Prel. Disc. p. liii.)

CHAPTER X.

Their Women and Marriages.

From the manner in which the Israelites lived, marriage was no encumbrance to them;

it was rather a convenience, for which it was originally designed. The women were laborious as well as the men, and wrought in the house while their husbands were at work in the field.* They dressed the victuals, and served them up, as appears from Homer and several passages in Scripture. When Samuel describes the manners of the kings to the people, he says, *Your kings will take your daughters to be confectioners, and to be cooks, and to be bakers*, 1 Sam. viii, 13. The pretence which Amnon the son of David made use of to get his sister Tamar near him when he debauched her, was that he might eat meat at her hands, 2 Sam. xiii, 6, which she dressed herself notwithstanding she was a king's daughter.

The women made wearing apparel; and their common employment was weaving stuffs, as making cloth and tapestry is now. We see in Homer the instances of Penelope, Calypso, and Circe. There are examples of it in Theocritus, Terence, and many other authors. (Theoc. Idyll. 15, Ter. Heaut. Act. ii, Sc. 2.) But what appears most wonderful to me is, that this custom was still retained at Rome, among the greatest ladies, in a very corrupt age: since Augustus commonly wore clothes of his wife's, sister's, and daughter's making. (Suet. Aug. 73.) For a proof out of Scripture, it is said that Samuel's mother made him a

* We learn from Herodotus, lib. ii, p. 115, edit. Steph. 1592, that the Egyptian women were treated in the same way.

little coat, which she brought him upon festival days, 1 Sam. ii, 19; and we see the virtuous wife in the Proverbs *seeking* wool and flax, and laying her hands to the spindle, Prov. xxxi, 13, and 19, and 21, and giving two suits of clothes to all her servants.*

All this work is done under shelter, and in the house, and does not require great strength of body: for which reason the ancients did not think them fit employments for men, but left them to the women, as naturally more inclined to stay in the house, and neater, and fonder of such sorts of things. And this is probably the reason why women were generally doorkeepers, even to kings. There was only one servant maid at the gate of King Ishbosheth,† who was

* Here our author follows the Vulgate, which translates Prov. xxx, 21, *Omnes enim domestici ejus vestiti sunt duplicibus;* and we, *for all her household are clothed with scarlet;* and in the margin, or *double garments*· for שנים signifies either. E. F. But *double clothing* seems to be chiefly intended, because the clothing referred to is for a defence from the *cold;* in which case *scarlet* could avail no more than any other colour; therefore *our* translation is evidently improper.

† Et ostiaria domus purgans triticum obdormivit. 2 Sam. iv, 5. The reader must not expect to find this in our Bible, because the Hebrew has it not. The Vulgate took it from the Seventy. However, what our author asserts is notorious: for the women spoken of, Exodus xxxviii, 8, were probably doorkeepers, as well as those *who assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.* 1 Sam. ii, 22. Athenæus says the keepers of the king's palace in Persia were women, l. xii, Deipnos. c. ii, and Chardin

busy in picking corn. And David, when he fled before Absalom, left ten women who were his concubines to keep his palace. 2 Sam. xv, 16. The women lived separated from the men, and very retired, especially widows. Judith lived in this manner, shut up with her women in an apartment upon the top of the house, Judith viii, 4, 5, and so did Penelope in Homer. (Odyss. l. i, v. 328–330.)

The Israelites made great feasts and rejoicings at their weddings. They were so dressed out that David could find no fitter comparison to describe the splendour of the sun by, than that of a bridegroom. The feast lasted seven days; which we see as early as the times of the patriarchs. When Jacob complained that they had given him Leah for Rachel, Laban said to him, *Fulfil the week of the marriage*, Gen. xxix, 27. Samson, having married a Philistine, made feasts for seven days, and the seventh day the feast ended. Judg. xiv, 12, &c. When young Tobias had a mind to go home, his father-in-law pressed him to stay two weeks, doubling the usual time, because they were never to see one another again. Tobit viii, 20. This is the constant tradition of the Jews, and their practice is agreeable to it. (Cod. Talm. Pirke Aboth, cap. xvi.) Whoever thoroughly studies the Song of Solomon, will find seven days plainly pointed out to repre-

says it was so lately. And *the damsel that kept the door* in the gospel, John xviii, 17, everybody remembers. E. F.

sent the first week of his marriage. (Seld. Uxor Heb. ii, c. 3. Buxtorf. Syn. Jud. c. 28.)

We see in the same Song the friends of the bridegroom and the companions of the bride, who were always at the feast. Song of Sol. v, 1. He had young men to rejoice with him, and she young women. Judg. xiv, 11. In the gospel there is mention made of the bridegroom's friends, and of the virgins who went forth to meet the bride and bridegroom. Matt. ix, 15; xxv, 1, &c. He wore a crown in token of joy, and she too,* according to the Jewish tradition. They were conducted with instruments of music, and their company carried branches of myrtle and palm tree in their hands. (Pirke Aboth, c. xix. Selden, c. xv.)

As for any thing farther, we do not find that their marriages were attended with any religious ceremony, except the prayers of the father of the family, and the standers by, to entreat the blessing of God. We have examples of it in the marriage of Rebecca with Isaac, Gen. xxiv, 60; of Ruth with Boaz, Ruth iv, 11; and of Sara with Tobias, Tobit vii, 13. We do not see that there were any sacrifices offered upon the occasion; or that they went to the temple, or sent for the priests: all was trans-

* Isaiah lxi, 10. The Chaldee paraphrast renders it, *as the high priest is adorned with his vestments*, that is, magnificently, which the Vulgate translates, *quasi sponsum decoratum* coronâ, and the Seventy in the same manner: and them our author follows, according to custom. E. F.

acted between the relations and friends: so that it was no more than a civil contract.

As to circumcision, it was really a religious act, and absolutely necessary, at that time, for all that would enter into the covenant of Abraham. (See part iv, chap. i.) But yet it was performed in private houses, without the ministry of priests or Levites. If anybody of a public character was sent for, it was a sort of surgeon used to the operation, whom they call *mohel;* and such sort of people the Jews have still.* In all these ceremonies we must take care not to be imposed upon by modern pictures, as I said about clothes.

The Israelites were so far from being afraid of plenty of children, that it was what they wished for. Beside their natural inclination, they had great motives to it from the law. They knew that God, when he created the world, and repaired it after the deluge, had said, *Increase and multiply in the earth;* that he had promised Abraham a numerous posterity: in a word, that from among them was to be born the Saviour of the world; we may add to

* מוהל mohel, a circumciser, from the Chaldee מהל mahal, he circumcised. When the operator has performed the act, he pronounces the following benediction: "O Lord our God, the God of our fathers, strengthen this child, and preserve him to his parents; and let his name among the people of Israel be —— [here the name is first given.] Let his father rejoice and be glad for that which is descended from his loins; and let his mother be delighted with the fruit of her womb."

this, that they were not influenced by those sordid considerations which cause the blessing of children to be looked on in the present day as a misfortune.

By reason of their frugal way of life, they were at small expense in feeding them while they were little; and less in clothing them, for in those hot countries they often let them go naked; and when they grew up, they helped them in their work, and saved the expense of slaves or hired servants; and indeed they had but few slaves in proportion to their work. Ziba, Saul's servant, ploughed Mephibosheth's estate with his fifteen sons and twenty servants. 2 Sam. ix, 10. They were in no pain about providing for their children; since they had no fortunes to raise for them: all their ambition was to leave their children the inheritance they had received from their ancestors, better cultivated if possible, and with a larger stock upon it. As for the daughters, they never inherited but in default of male issue, Num. xxvii, 8; they were sought in marriage more upon account of their families than their riches.

It was therefore a convenience, as well as an honour, to have a great many children. He was esteemed happy who saw himself father of a large family, Psa. cxxvii, 3, 4, 6, and surrounded with a great number of children and grandchildren, always ready to receive his instructions and execute his commands, and was under no apprehension of having his name forgotten while his posterity subsisted. *Children's*

children are the crown of old men, (Prov. xvii, 6,) says the Scripture; and when it takes notice of the number of children, it is commonly in praise of their parents; as those two judges of Israel, one of whom had thirty sons, the other forty, and thirty grandsons, Judg. x, 4; xii, 14; as David, nineteen of whose sons are named, 1 Chron. iii, 1, &c., beside those that he had by his concubines; Rehoboam, who had twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters, 2 Chron. xi, 21, and Abia, who had twenty-two sons and sixteen daughters. 2 Chron. xiii, 21. In the same manner the poets make mention of the fifty sons of Priamus; for the Greeks had no less esteem for fruitfulness. Virginity, considered as a virtue, was at that time little known, and looked upon in the same light with sterility, and the women that died unmarried were reckoned unfortunate. Electra, in Sophocles, bemoans herself expressly upon it, and this was the occasion of the repining of Jephthah's daughter. Judg. xi, 31. Hence, barrenness came to be a reproach to married women, as we see by Samuel's mother and many others. 1 Sam. i, 2–6. This misfortune was looked upon as a curse from God.

This care for posterity was the foundation of the law that enjoined a man to marry his brother's widow when he died without children, (a law existing in the patriarchal times, as appears by the story of Tamar, Gen. xxxviii, 8, and looked upon as a duty,) that the name of the deceased might not be forgotten; and so

the children were reckoned his by a sort of adoption. From hence proceed the two genealogies of Jesus Christ; one according to St. Matthew, and the other according to St. Luke. Matt. i; Luke iii. For thus it was found that Joseph had two fathers, one by whom he was begotten, and the other by legal adoption.* Besides, the marrying a sister-in-law was not contrary to the first law of nature, which allowed marrying even one's own sister before God forbade it.

It was the desire of having a great number of children that induced the Israelites to take several wives at a time; which they esteemed an honour and sign of dignity. It is thus that Isaiah, to show how much valued those of God's people should be whom he should preserve, says, that *seven women shall take hold of one man*, Isaiah iv, 1, offering to live at their own expense, provided they had the honour to be called by his name. Thus it is likewise said that Rehoboam had eighteen wives and three-score concubines, and that he gave many wives to his son Abia, whom he chose for his successor. 2 Chron. xi, 21, 23.

They were yet very sparing in the use of marriage; they did not only abstain from it while their wives were big with child and other-

* Commentators are greatly divided concerning these two genealogies. Some suppose that in St. Luke to be the genealogy of the blessed Virgin; and that Heli, said to be the *father of Joseph*, was only his *father-in-law*, being the father of Mary.

wise indisposed, but all the time they were nurses, for two or three years together; and mothers did not often dispense with themselves from giving suck to their own children. We find but three nurses mentioned in the Scripture, that is, Rebecca's, Gen. xxiv, 59; Mephibosheth's, 2 Sam. iv, 4; and she that nursed Joash king of Judah.*

We ought not then to wonder that God tolerated polygamy, which was introduced before the deluge,† though it was contrary to the first institution of marriage. For when it was instituted in the terrestrial paradise, there was yet no concupiscence. Polygamy then was like divorces, which Jesus Christ told the Jews had never been allowed them but for the hardness of their hearts, Matt. xix, 8. Beside wives they had likewise concubines, who were commonly slaves. Lawful wives had no other advantage over them than the honour of having their children preferred to the inheritance; so that the name of concubinage had no ill signification, as with us. It was only a less solemn wedding.

This liberty, besides, was very far from rendering the state of matrimony more convenient; it made the yoke of it much heavier. A hus-

* 2 Kings xi. 2. But, beside these, it is said that Naomi was nurse to the child of Boaz and Ruth. See Ruth iv, 16.

† Gen. iv, 19. Lamech was the first polygamist, and, from all that the Scripture says concerning him, there is much reason to fear he was a very bad man.

band could not so equally divide his heart among many wives as to please them all, which obliged him to govern them in an absolute manner as the eastern people still do; so that there was no longer any equality, friendship, or society in marriage. It was still harder for the rival wives to agree among themselves; there was no end of divisions, cabals, and domestic quarrels. All the children of one wife had so many mothers-in-law, as their father had more wives: each espoused the interest of its own mother, and looked upon the children of the other wives as strangers or enemies. Hence comes the way of speaking so common in Scripture, *It is my brother and the son of my mother.* We see examples of these divisions in the family of David, and still worse in that of Herod. The liberty of being set loose by divorce, had also very bad consequences. People engaged themselves more unwarily, and took less pains to please one another; and a man had it in his power to have so many wives, that it was no better than an excuse for debauchery. We know the disorder there was at Rome after the decay of the commonwealth; whereas, while good manners subsisted there, that is, till the year 523 from the foundation, there was no such thing as a divorce heard of, though it was permitted by the laws. (Gellius iv, c. 3.) The children suffered very much by it too: they were orphans even while their father and mother were living, and could scarcely avoid being hated by one of them, and taking part with one against the other.

CHAPTER XI.

The Education of their Children, their Exercises, and Studies.

The education of children seems to have been very nearly the same among the Israelites as that of the Egyptians, and the most ancient Greeks. (Plato Rep. 2, 3.) They formed their body by labour and exercise, and their mind by literature and music. Strength of body was greatly esteemed; and it is that for which soldiers are mostly commended in Scripture, as David's valiant men are. 2 Sam. xxiii, 1, &c. Foot racing must have been one of their chief exercises, since men were known by their running at a distance, as those who brought the news of Absalom's defeat; they must needs have seen them run often. 2 Sam. xviii, 27. It is also said of Asahel, Joab's brother, that he was as light of foot as a wild roe. 2 Sam. ii, 18. Zechariah speaks of *a burdensome stone*, Zech. xii, 3; which St. Jerome takes for one of those stones which served to try men's strength by seeing who could lift it highest :* for which

* St. Jerome assures us that this was an ancient custom in all the cities and towns of Palestine, which subsisted even in his days: and that he had seen a great brazen ball at Athens, in the citadel, near the statue of Minerva, which was used to try the strength of the Athletæ, that those of similar powers might be paired together, that the advantages on each side

reason one may imagine they had that sort of exercise. The example of Jonathan shows they used to exercise themselves in shooting with the bow. 1 Sam. xx, 20.

But they did not make the exercise of the body their main business like the Greeks, who reduced it to a profession, and studied the greatest improvements in it. They called this art *gymnastic*, because they exercised themselves *naked*, and the schools *gymnasia*, which were spacious, magnificent, and built at a great expense. (Hier. Mercurial. De arte gymnast.) There the best masters, with many assistants under them, formed the bodies of young people by a very exact discipline and regular exercise. Some took such delight in it that they practised nothing else all their lives, and were wrestlers, &c. by profession. By this means they acquired prodigious strength, and brought their bodies into such exact shape that they served as models for the finest statues. But in other respects it made them brutal, and incapable of any application of mind; nor were they even fit for war, or any sort of enterprise that deprived them of their usual diet or rest, or put them at all out of their regular way of living. The Hebrews were too serious to give in to these niceties; and it was an odious novelty to them, when there was an academy built at Jerusalem, under Antiochus Epiphanes, after the Greek fashion. 1 Macc. i, 14; 2 Macc.

might be equal. (See his comment on the above text.)

iv, 12. They were content with field labour, and some military exercises, as were the Romans.

Nor had they occasion for hard study to improve their mind, if by study we understand the knowledge of several languages and reading many books, as we commonly mean by it: for they despised learning foreign languages, because that was as much in the power of slaves as those of higher rank. (Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx, c. 11.) Their native language was sufficient for them, that is, the Hebrew, in which the Scripture is written. It has a resemblance of their manners; the words of it are plain—all derived from few roots, and uncompounded: it has a wonderful luxuriance in its verbs, most of which express whole phrases. *To be great, to make great, to be made great,* are all simple words, which no translation can fully express. Most of the prepositions and pronouns are no more than single letters added to the beginning or end of other words. It is the most concise tongue we know, and consequently comes nearest to the language of spirits, who have little need of words to make themselves understood: the expressions are clear and weighty; they convey distinct and sensible ideas, and the farthest from bombast of all others.

The genius of this language is to make one proposition follow another, without suspending the sense, or perplexing us with long periods, which makes the style extremely clear. Thence it comes that, in their narrations, those that

are concerned in them speak with the utmost plainness, and in their own persons, and do not scruple to use repetitions. They almost constantly relate the same thing in the same words. And this is what makes us, at first, think the Scripture style flat and heavy; but it is in reality a mark of good sense, solidity, and a clear head, in those who spoke in that manner. Though the style of the sacred books is very different, we do not find that the language altered from the time of Moses to the Babylonish captivity.

All their grammar then consisted, like that of the most ancient Greeks, in speaking in their own language well, and in writing and reading it correctly; with this difference, that it does not appear they had reduced it into an art, and learned it by rules. Their letters were those which we call at present Samaritan, because the Samaritans have preserved them: and as they do not run well, nor are easy to shape, it may reasonably be doubted, whether it was very common among the Israelites to know how to write: and the rather, as learned men are called in Scripture *sopherin*, that is to say, *scribes*, according to the old translations Labouring people, too, have much less occasion for writing than merchants and men of business. But it is probable that most of them knew how to read; since it was recommended to all to learn the law of God, and meditate upon it day and night, Deut. vi, 6, 7, &c.: and this study was their whole employment upon the

Sabbath days. (Joseph. Ant. l. xvi, c. ii, s. 3; Orig. cont. Cels. lib. iv.)

This book alone was sufficient to instruct them thoroughly; they saw in it the history of the world till their settlement in the promised land, the rise of all the nations which they knew, and more especially of those they were most concerned to be best acquainted with, the descendants of Lot, Abraham, Ishmael, and Esau. There they saw the whole of their religion, its doctrines, ceremonies, and moral precepts, and there they found their civil laws. This volume alone, which is the Pentateuch or five books of Moses, contained all that they were obliged to know. Not because they had not many other books; for, to omit those of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and several that were written after; in the time of Moses, *the book of the wars of the Lord* is mentioned, Num. xxi, 14; and in other places *the book of Jasher*.* The books of Kings often refer to the chronicles of the kings of Judah and Israel. Solomon wrote three thousand parables, and one thousand and five songs, 1 Kings iv, 32, 33; he wrote

* Josh. x, 13, and Sam. i, 18. Our author calls it *Livre des justes*, after the Vulgate, *liber justorum:* but the Chaldee paraphrast, "The book of the law:" the Syriac, "The book of Canticles," in one place; and "The book of Ashir," in the other. Now it may be doubted whether any of these come up to the original ספר הישר that is, literally, "The book of the upright," or "The book which is right," as the Seventy seem to have understood it by translating it επὶ τῳ βιβλιῳ τῳ ευθυς. The sacred writer appeals to

treatises upon all sorts of plants and animals, and he himself complains that *of making books there is no end.* Eccles. xii, 12. All these, and perhaps many others that we never heard of, are lost; as those of the Egyptians, Syrians, and other eastern people. The only books that remain of so great antiquity, are such as God dictated to his prophets, and has preserved by a particular providence.

It is not at all likely that the Israelites studied the books of foreigners, from whom they were so careful to separate themselves. And this study might have been dangerous; since it would have taught them the impious and extravagant fables of which the theology of idolaters was composed. But they abhorred it to that degree that they would not so much as pronounce the name of false gods, Psalm xvi, 4; Wisdom xiv, 27; and if they made part of any proper names, they changed them. Thus they said Ishbosheth and Mephibosheth, for Eshbaal and Meribbaal; Bethaven for Bethel; and Beelzebub instead of Beelse-

the authentic copy of Joshua and Samuel that was preserved by the high priest, as the law was, Deut. xxxi, 26; and xvii, 18: it may be in the tabernacle, or the temple, for Josephus, when he mentions the sun's standing still (Ant. l. v, cap. i) says, "This is manifest by the writings deposited in the temple." The Arabic in 2 Sam. i, 18, gives the passage a strange turn. "Behold it is written in the book of Ashir, that is, the book of Samuel, the interpretation of which is the book of *Canticles*"

men.* These fables which comprehend the whole doctrine of false religions, were a heap of lies established by long tradition upon the foundations of ancient truths, and embellished by the invention of poets; mothers and nurses taught them to their children from their cradle, and sung them at their religious worship and feasts. The wisest of the heathens saw plainly that they tended only to create a contempt of the divinity, and corruption of manners: but the evil was past remedy. (Plato Rep. ii, in fine, et init. iii.)

The Israelites were the only people that related truths to their children, capable of inspiring them with the fear and love of God, and exciting them to virtue. All their traditions were noble and useful. Not but they made use

* Compare 1 Chron. viii, 33, 34, with 2 Sam. ii, 8, and iv, 4.

Eshbaal, אשבעל *the fire of Baal*, or of the *idol* changed into Ishbosheth איש בשת *the man of shame.*

Meribbaal מריב בעל *the contention of Baal*, changed into Mephibosheth, מפי בשת *from the mouth of shame*, both names being intended to ridicule those which appear to have been imposed in honour of the idol.

Bethel בית אל *the house of God*, which, when Jeroboam set up the worship of his golden calves in it, was called Bethaven בית און *the house* or *temple of iniquity.*

Beelsemem בעל שמים *Lord*, or *ruler of the heavens*, was through contempt changed into Beelzebub בעל זבוב *the fly god*, or *the god of flies*; and Beelzebul בעל זבול *the god of dung.* In this latter form the word is read in the Greek Testament.

of parables and riddles, beside simple narrations, to teach truths of great importance, especially to morality. It was a practice among the ingenious to propound riddles to one another, as we see by the instances of Samson, Judg. xiv, 14; and the queen of Sheba.* The Greeks tell us the same thing of their first sages. (Plutarch Comm. Sept. Sap.) They made use, too, of these fables, as Esop did, the fiction of which is so plain that it can impose upon nobody. We have two of them in Scripture, Jotham's, the son of Gideon, Judg. ix, 8; and that of Joash, king of Israel, 2 Kings xiv, 9. But the chief use of allegories and a figurative way of speaking was to comprehend the maxims of morality in a few words and under agreeable images, that children might learn them more easily; and such are the parables or proverbs of which the books of Solomon are composed.

These parables are commonly expressed in verse, and the verses were made to be sung; for which reason, I believe, the Israelites learned music too. I judge of them by the

* 1 Kings x, i. Our translation says, "She came to prove him with hard questions:" but the abbe follows the Vulgate, venit tentare eum in ænigmatibus, which is the same with the *εν αινιγμασι* (with riddles or enigmas) of the Septuagint; which is the true import of the Hebrew word חִידוֹת *bacheedoth*, from חדה *chadah*, *to penetrate;* because such sayings penetrated the mind, and engrossed the attention more than others.

Greeks, who had all their learning and politeness from the eastern people. Now it is certain that the Greeks taught their children both to sing and play upon instruments. This study is the most ancient of all others. Before the use of letters the memory of great actions was preserved by song. The Gauls and Germans retained the same custom in the times of the Romans, and it is still preserved among the people of America.*

Though the Hebrews had letters, they knew that words in measure, and set to a tune, were always best remembered; and from thence proceeded that great care which they always took to compose songs upon any important event that had happened to them. Such are those two songs of Moses, one at passing through the Red Sea, Exod. xv, 1, &c.; the other when he died, to recommend the observation of the law, Deut. xxxii, 1, &c. Such, likewise, is that of Deborah, Judg. v, 1, &c.; that of Samuel's mother, 1 Sam. ii, 1–19; and many others: but, above all, the Psalms of David. These poems are wonderfully instructive, full of the praises of God, the remembrance of his loving kindness, containing, besides, moral precepts and such sentiments as

* This custom prevailed also among the Hindoos—witness the great and ancient epic poem of India, the *Mahabarat;* among the Persians—witness the famous *Shah Nameh* of Ferdoosee; among the Irish, Welsh, and Scotch—witness the remains of their ancient *bards*, Ossian, Urran, Oscar, &c.

a good man ought to have in every station of life. Thus, the most important truths and exalted notions were agreeably instilled into the minds of children by poetry set to music.

And that was the right use of them. God, who created great geniuses and fine voices, designed, without doubt, that the owners should employ them to recommend virtue, and not to foment criminal passions. The Greeks themselves own that the most ancient and best sort of poetry was the lyric, that is to say, hymns and odes in praise of the Deity, and to inspire virtue. (Plato Leg. vii.) Dramatic poetry, which consists only in imitation, and aims at nothing but to divert by moving the passions, was of later invention. We see nothing of it among the Habrews; and though Solomon, in his Song, makes different persons speak, it is more to express their sentiments in a lively manner, than to represent an action as is done in theatrical performances. (See the supplement at the end of this chapter.)

There are no remains of the Hebrew music, but there are several of the structure of their verse: (see Lowth's Dissertation on the Poetry of the Hebrews; and Kennicott's Hebrew Bible:) and if we may judge of the beauty of their songs by that of the words, they must have been excellent—grave and serious, but affecting and diversified. And, if we may form an opinion of them from their effects, the Scripture seems to impute supernatural ones to them. We see, by the instance of Saul, who found

himself well and refreshed when David played upon the harp, that their music charmed evil spirits. 1 Sam. xvi, 23. The sound of their instruments likewise became a means which the Spirit of God sometimes used when he spake by the prophets, as we find by the example of those whom Saul met, as Samuel had foretold, and with whom he himself entered into holy transports of joy, 1 Sam. x, 5; and by that of Elisha, who asked for a player upon a minstrel that he might prophesy, 2 Kings iii, 15: that is, this music appeased the motion of the spirits and humours which the devil had troubled in those whom God had permitted him to act upon: and such hearts as it found quiet and pure it lifted up to God, and warmed them, and so disposed them to receive the powerful impressions of his Spirit the more effectually. The Greeks tell us of the wonderful effects of their music to excite or calm the passions; and, unless we contradict all history, it must be owned that the music of the ancients was more affecting than ours.

Not that it was an uncommon thing among them, for they were all musicians: and, to confine myself to the Hebrews, and speak only of such as were professed musicians, there were in David's time *four thousand* Levites appointed for that purpose only, 1 Chron. xxiii, 5, under the direction of *two hundred and eighty-eight* masters, Ibid. xxv, 7, the chief of whom were Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, so often named in the titles of the psalms. David himself was

a great poet and excellent musician ; and it is very well known how much the inclination of kings conduces to the improvement of arts. They had great variety of wind instruments, as trumpets, and flutes of different sorts ; drums, and instruments with strings. The two that are most frequently mentioned, are *kinour* and *nabel*, which the Greeks have changed into *kinyra* and *nabla*. So that when we represent David with a harp, it is only by guess. They had instruments of eight and ten strings.

The singing of the Greeks was accompanied with dancing : for that is the meaning of the word *chorus* or *choir*, which the Latins have taken from the Greeks, and which signified with them a company of dancers clothed and decked out in the same uniform.* They sung together and danced in a ring, being sorted according to their age and sex, young men and maids, old men and wives, without mixing one with the other. Now it is not to be supposed that the Hebrew dances were less modest. Choirs are mentioned at the procession which David made to carry the ark into Sion, and upon occasion of several victories, where it is said that the maidens came out of the cities dancing and singing. (2 Sam. vi, 5, 14, 15, 20 ; and 1 Sam. xviii, 6, 7.)

* Χορος, a dance, and often in the profane writers a "company of dancers:" hence χορηγεω which signifies not only to "lead a dance," but also to furnish that kind of uniform used by the chorus or company of dancers.

I do not perceive that the Israelites had any public schools, or that the young men went from their fathers' house to study. Their laborious way of living did not admit of it. Their fathers had occasion for their assistance in their work, and brought them up to it from their childhood. So the word *school* in Greek signifies *leisure*,* as being the place where such people met, who, having no urgent business, endeavoured to amuse themselves in an innocent manner: and the Latin word *ludus*, which signifies *play*, conveys the same idea. I imagine, then, that their learning was chiefly acquired from the conversation of their fathers and old men, without much reading or regular lessons.

Parents were obliged to inform their children of the great things God had done for them and their fathers: and, upon that account, the law commanded them so often to explain the reasons of their feasts and other religious ceremonies. Deut. vi, 7, 20. These instructions, thus joined to sensible objects, and so frequently repeated, could not fail of having their due weight. They taught them, beside, every thing relating to husbandry, adding continual practice to their lessons. And we cannot doubt of their being very expert in it, considering that for so many ages it was their sole employment. Now, though this art be followed among us, by uncultivated people who seldom reflect upon any thing, it nevertheless contains a great extent

* Σχολη, from σχολαζω, to be unemployed.

of knowledge much more useful to mankind than that speculative sort which is reckoned *learning*. And though we were to allow nothing to be science but what we find in books, both the ancients and moderns have written sufficient on this subject to recommend it to our esteem.*

An Israelite, therefore, who, by the tradition of his fathers, by his own experience, and some reading, was instructed in his religion, the laws that he was to regulate his life by, and the history of his own nation, who knew how to provide himself with all the necessaries of life, who thoroughly understood the nature of different soils, and the plants that are proper for them, the method and time to be observed in planting them, what precautions are to be taken against the several accidents that destroy the fruits of the earth, how they are to be gathered and preserved; who understood the nature of cattle, how they are to be fed, the distempers they are liable to, with the cure of them, and many other things of the same kind, (which most of those that reckon themselves men of breeding and letters know nothing of;) this honest Israelite, methinks, would be full as valuable a man, as one bred in our inns-of-court, exche-

* The works of Cato, Varro, Paladius, the Georgics of Virgil, and many others, contain many important lessons concerning agriculture, which show us that it had been carried to a great perfection in ancient times. In the present day it is become a science of the first importance, many of the nobility, gentry, and literati, cultivating it with the utmost assiduity and success.

quer, or in the wrangle of the schools. For it must be owned that, in these latter ages, *curious studies* have been too far divided from those that are *useful;* the cultivation of the mind and the improvement of the manners, from a due regard to one's business and health. Most of those who are so solicitous about their intellects take too little care of their persons, and become unfit for action and bodily labour. Nay, many grow so effeminate by giving themselves to music, poetry, and other studies of a curious nature, that, with a very high opinion of their fine genius and pretended merit, they lead an inactive and despicable life.

There were, however, some Israelites that applied themselves particularly to study, and may be called learned men, according to our own ideas. It is said that in David's time there were *men, in the tribe of Issachar, who had understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do.* 1 Chron. xii, 32. And commentators say that they observed the stars, to regulate the feasts and the whole course of the year by them. The Prophet Malachi says of priests in general, that *their lips should keep knowledge, and that they should seek the law at their mouth.* Malachi ii, 7. One of their chief functions, therefore, was to teach the law of God in the meetings which were held in every city on the Sabbath day, and which the Greeks called *synagogues* or *churches,* (Orig. cont. Cels. l. iv,) for both words signify almost the same thing. Other learned men were appointed

to speak there too, especially such as were acknowledged to be prophets inspired by God. These were the public schools of the Israelites, where they did not teach curious knowledge, but religion and good manners; where they did not instruct children only, and some particular persons who had nothing else to do, but the people in general.*

None but the priests and prophets undertook to compose books, especially history. (Joseph. cont. App. i, c. ii.) It was the same in Egypt. Their priests renounced all worldly affairs. They led a very serious and retired life, wholly employed in the service of the gods, and the study of wisdom. They spent the day in the offices of religion, and the night in mathematical contemplations, for so they called the study of the heavens. They were the only historians. So the most ancient Roman histories were the annals of their high priests.

We see in Scripture history the character of their authors. It appears that they were very serious and very wise men; old, and of great experience, and well informed of what passed. There is neither vanity, nor flattery, nor affectation in them to show their wit: whereas all these foibles are to be discovered in the Greeks, every one of whom had liberty to write, and most of them aimed at nothing but

* Such were the schools of the prophets at Naioth, in Ramah, where Samuel presided, 1 Sam. xix, 19, 20, &c., and at Bethel, where Elijah and Elisha gave public instruction.

their own glory, or that of their nation. The Hebrew historians do not set down their own names, nor do they ever conceal any circumstance that appears disadvantageous to themselves or their sovereigns. They that wrote the history of David have been as particular in the account of his greatest crime as in any of his most righteous actions.

They make neither preface nor transition; they only relate facts in as clear a manner as possible, without any mixture of reasoning or reflections. But if we examine well, we shall find that they chose the facts which were proper for their purpose with wonderful judgment, and this makes their stories very short; though, upon important occasions, they enter into the most exact detail, and set the action before the reader's eyes in very lively colours. It is plain they leave out reflections and exaggerations on purpose, by their knowing so well how to apply them in discourses where they have a mind to work upon the passions. So Moses, in Deuteronomy, makes use of the strongest and most expressive figures to magnify and expatiate upon what he had only plainly related in the preceding books. Thus the Prophet Isaiah barely relates the defeat of Sennacherib, Isaiah xxxvi, 1, &c., compared with xxxvii, 37, 38, after having exaggerated, when he foretold it, in a style that is truly poetical.

The Hebrews were not less to be admired in all their other ways of writing. Their laws are written with clearness and brevity. Their

maxims of morality are contained in short sentences, adorned with agreeable figures, and expressed in a concise style; for all this serves to make them remembered. In fine, the poetry is sublime, the descriptions lively, the metaphors bold, the expressions noble, and the figures wonderfully varied. But it would require whole books to treat of their eloquence and poetry in such a manner as they deserve. (See Bishop Lowth's Dissertation, and his Preliminary Discourse to his Translation of the Prophet Isaiah.)

Though they wrote by divine inspiration, I do not think it necessary to impute all their eloquence to it. They were only inspired to speak truth, and to make use of no word that was unfit to declare the mysterious designs of God: but for any thing more the Holy Ghost made use of their natural manner of expression. This is plain from the different styles of the prophets, and still more so from the likeness they all bear to the most ancient profane writers. Homer, Herodotus, and Hippocrates tell a story in the same way. Hesiod's instructions are written in the like manner. (Demosth. de fals. leg. et alibi.) The elegies of Theognis and Solon resemble the exhortations of Moses and the prophets. We see in Pindar, and the choruses of tragedians, great boldness and variety of poetry; and the more ancient Greek authors are the more they resemble the Hebrews, both in the distinction of style, according to the nature of the work, and in their conciseness and propriety of expression.

People may imagine that the Hebrews wrote in this manner by the pure strength of their genius, and that the goodness of their judgment prompted them to reject what was not suitable to the design of any work, and to make use of what was fittest to instruct or affect. For my own part, when I see that they never fail to observe a difference of style, and they apply all the ornaments of true eloquence so properly, I am rather inclined to believe they had already some rules, taken from the experience of their fathers, either in writing or by tradition among the learned. We must not imagine that the Greeks *invented* eloquence and poetry ; the greatest share they had in it was giving names to the figures, and framing all that artificial language in which the knowledge of grammarians and rhetoricians consisted ; but which alone never made either orators or poets. The rudiments of the art were discovered long before ; for the world was not young at that time ; it had existed near three thousand years before Solomon, and it is nearly three thousand since. Before his time men's lives were long, and there had been no inundations of barbarians in the countries where arts and sciences had their origin.

A SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XI.

Concerning the Music and Poetry of the Hebrews.

(Referred to in page 124.)

THERE were no instruments of music used in the worship of God from the foundation of the world till the time of David. He introduced singers and players on musical instruments, but this was rather by the permission, than by the express authority of God. As David was a very elegant poet, and was led to devote his extraordinary talents to the most sublime and glorious of all subjects, the celebration of the being and attributes of the most high God; and as instrumental music was generally a concomitant of the poetic gift, and probably observing a fondness for such instruments among the people at large, who appear to have made an improper use of them in feasts, &c., (see Isa. v, 12, compared with Amos v, 23, and vi, 1–5,) he thought proper to consecrate them to the service of the sanctuary, and composed a variety of odes or psalms with which they were to be accompanied on the different solemnities observed among the Jews.

It is in vain to attempt to trace the use of musical instruments in the service of God any higher than the days of David; for the *horns* and *trumpets* which were in use before, appear to have answered no other purpose than merely to convoke the public assemblies, as *bells* were

not then in use. Nor does it appear from any part of the Scriptures, as far as I can recollect, that their introduction was ever sanctioned by divine authority. In 1 Chron. xvi, 42, it is said that *Heman* and *Jeduthun* were appointed *with trumpets and cymbals for those that should make a sound; and with musical instruments of God;* and this text is supposed to be a clear proof that these were of divine appointment. But the last clause, *musical instruments of God*, when examined in the original, will not support this inference. כלי שיר האלהים *kelee sheer hacloheem*, literally signifies, the instruments of God's song: properly translated by the Septuagint οργανα των ωδων του θεου, the organs of the songs of God. The parallel text in 2 Chron. vii. 6, *the instruments of music of the Lord*, has precisely the same meaning with the above, the words being the same, only יהוה *yehovah* is in the latter text put for אלהים *eloheem* in the former. The *song* God inspired, and commanded to be sung; but the *instruments* were of a different appointment.

In the first, the pure and perfect ages of the Christian church, there were no instruments of music used in the worship of God: indeed had they been proposed, they would doubtless have been considered by the primitive Christians as an attempt to *judaize* Christianity, by conforming the *church* to the *synagogue*.

The Syriac version of 1 Chron. xvi, 41, 42, is very remarkable. I shall subjoin a literal translation of it, which the reader may com-

pare with the English version or with the Hebrew text. "These are the names of the men who were employed in praises. Heman and Erithun (and other righteous men whose names are unknown) that they might give thanks to the Lord whose goodness is everlasting. And these are the righteous men who did not sing with instruments of music, nor with drums, nor with sistrums, (or harps,) nor with pipes crooked or straight, nor with cymbals; but they sung with a joyous mouth, and with a pure and perfect prayer, with innocence and integrity before the Lord God Almighty, the God of Israel." The Arabic version is almost word for word with the above. As the Syriac version was made about the second century, (some think in the apostolic age,) and probably by a *Christian*, we may see from the turn he gave to the original, that instrumental music in that time was not esteemed in the church of God. Indeed it seems to have no good influence, and is only calculated to draw light, vain, and giddy persons together.

Where poetry had attained such a high state of cultivation as the poetic compositions of the Hebrew prophets sufficiently prove, instrumental music must have kept proportionable pace. According to the accounts of the rabbins, the Hebrews had more instruments of music among them than any other people on the earth. They generally reckon about thirty-four different kinds. Calmet, who has examined this subject with great accuracy and critical acumen, *Dis-*

sertation sur les instrumens de musique des Hebreux, prefixed to his commentary on the Psalms, reduces this number by taking away the following *fourteen* :—

1. NEGINOTH (נגינות) translated by the LXX, *υμνος* a hymn, and by the Vulgate *canticum*, a song, signifies those who play on instruments, or the pieces themselves which are played. See Job xxx, 9; Psa. lxix, 12, and the titles of several Psalms.

2. NEHILOTH (נהילות) signifies dances, or choirs of dancing women, from the verb חלל chalal, *to dance.* It is found in the title of Psalm v.

3. SHEMINITH (שמינית): as this word literally signifies *the eighth*, and as we find this used for *an eighth* course of musicians, 1 Chron. xv, 21, it probably has the same meaning in Psalm vi, in the title of which it stands in connection with Neginoth mentioned above.

4. SHIGGAION (שיון) signifies a song of consolation in distress, or a poetic composition similar to our *elegy.* It is found in the title of Psalm vii, and the plural *Shigionoth*, in Habakkuk iii, 1.

5. GITTITH (גיתית) *a person of Gath*, or the *wine pressing*, probably an air or song sung at the time of vintage. It occurs in the titles of the 8th, 81st, and 84th Psalms.

6. MUTHLABBEN (על מותלבן) almuthlaben, *concerning the death of the son.* Title of Psalm 9th. In 1 Chron. xvi, 20, alamoth (עלמות) is used, which signifies damsels, or virgins, and

Calmet thinks that a band of female musicians is meant, and that Laben, i. e., *to Ben*, refers to Beniah, who was set over the band.

7. MICHTAM (מכתם): this occurs in the titles of the 16th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, and 60th Psalms. It comes from the root כתם katham to *inscribe*, or *engrave:* and as it is always accompanied with לדוד le david, to *David*, it probably signifies that those Psalms were particularly attributed to David. Those, says Calmet, who wish to make it signify an instrument of music, only make use of this cloak to cover their idleness or ignorance.

8. AYELETH SHAHAR (אילת השחר) Psa. xxii, 1, translated by the Septuagint, the *reception*, or *succour of the morning;* and by others, *the hind of the morning;* appears to signify a band of either male or female musicians, or a psalm that was sung at *break of day.*

9. SHOSHANNIM (ששנים) Psalm xliv, lx, lxix, lxxx, variously translated by the ancients and moderns, seems to mean *rejoicings:* and as all the psalms to which it is prefixed seem to be composed for festive occasions, particularly weddings, it is probable the word only points out the *rejoicings* used on such occasions.

10. MAHALATH (מהלת) title of Psalm 53d, signifies a *dance*, such as was used at some religious assemblies. See Exod. xv, 20; Judg. xxi, 21; 1 Sam. xvii, 6.

11. JONATH ELEM RECHOKIM (יונת אלם רחקים). *The dumb dove in its banishment*, pro-

bably the *air* or *tune* to which some particular psalm or ode was sung.

12. HIGAION (הגיון) Psalm xcii, 4, from הגה *to murmur, growl*, or *coo*, was either a deep hollow bass in the music; or a mournful tune, sung on occasions of public or private calamity. But from its connection in the above passage with several musical instruments, it may probably signify some kind of harp, or some mournful accompaniment in the voice like our *recitativo*.

13. MASCHIL (משכיל) occurs in the titles of Psalms 32d, 42d, 44th, 52d, 74th, 78th, and 142d; as it is evidently derived from the root שכר to be wise, to behave wisely or prudently, it signifies simply to give instruction. The psalms to which it is prefixed, are to be considered as peculiarly calculated to give instruction and direction in the most important matters which respect the well-being of the body and soul.

14. AL TASCHITH (אל תשחת). This term literally means *destroy not;* and may signify either a deprecation of deserved punishment, or an exhortation to take care of and preserve in a particular manner those psalms to which it is prefixed. They are the four following, 57th, 58th, 59th, and 75th.

I am of Calmet's opinion, that none of these signifies any musical instrument, unless the *Higaion* mentioned under No. 12.

In the Pentateuch seven different kinds of musical instruments are mentioned, viz., the *kinnor*, or lyre, an instrument with three cords.

The *huggab*, or mouth organ, composed of seven unequal pipes. The *tuph*, or tambour, the skin being extended only over one side. The *machalath*, probably a sort of bagpipe. The *chazazeroth*, the long straight *trumpets* made by Moses in the wilderness, and the *schophar* or *trumpet*. To these some add the *jubal* or *jobel*, supposed to have been a sort of musical instrument made out of a *ram's horn;* but this is a mistake, for there is no proper evidence that there ever was such an instrument. (See the note at the end of chapter xvi.)

In the books of Kings, Chronicles, and the Prophets, mention is made of *nabelim*, psalteries or harps; MEZILOTHAIM, *cymbals;* MENANAIM, different kinds of flutes; and ZALZELIM, *cymbals*, according to some, and *sistrums* according to others; SHALISHIM, sonorous *trigons* or *triangles;* and MEZILOTHAIM, a species of small *bells*.

In Daniel iii, 5, the following are mentioned: KARNA, the *cornet* or *horn;* MASHROKITA, the *flagelet;* KITHROS, the *cithara* or *harp;* SABEKA, the *sacbut*, a species of *cymbal;* PESANTERIN, the psaltery, or a species of harp in the form of an equilateral triangle, nearly the same as the *nabla;* SUMPHONIA, a *dulcimer* or *cymbal* with four strings. The GNASUR, or HASUR (עשור) mentioned in the Psalms, appears to have been an instrument of ten strings similar to or the same with the *cythara* or *harp*. As the *nabla* or *kinoor* were the most common, a farther description may be necessary.

NABLA or NEBEL (נבל) a stringed musical instrument, probably so called from its belly resembling a jug or flagon. 2 Sam. vi, 5; Psa. xxxiii, 2. Athenæus says, "*Ναβλα φοινικων ειναι ἑυρημα*, the *nabla* was invented by the Phœnicians," which he proves from these words of Sopater :—

——*ωτε τω Σιδωνιω ναβλα*
Λαρυγγοφωνος εκκεχορδοται τυπος.

And the Sidonian nabla,
Sonorous instrument, is not unstrung.

Ναβλα here seems indeclinable, like the Phœnician and Syriac נבלא. Heb. נבל. Strabo, (lib. x, p. 722, edit. Amstel.) acknowledges that the name is barbarous or foreign; *των οργανων ενια βαρβαρως ονομαστι, ναβλα και σαμβυκη ἡ και βαρβιτος, και αλλα πλειω*, "Some musical instruments have barbarous names, as the nabla and sambuke, the barbitos, the magadis, and several others." Josephus (Ant. lib. vii, cap. xii, § 3) describes it thus: *Η δε ναβλα, δωδεκα φθογγως εχουσα τοις δακτυλοις* ΚΡΟΥΕΤΑΙ. "The nabla has twelve sounds, and is struck or played upon with the fingers." In playing it was turned about with both hands. Thus Ovid, de Arte Amandi, lib. iii :—

Discе etiam duplici genialia nablia palmâ
Vertere; conveniunt dulcibus illa modis.

Its name, like that of the utricularis tibia, (English bagpipe,) is taken from its resemblance

to a bottle or flagon, (utris,) for thus also נבל signifies.

It began to be in use about the time of David. This may be gathered from its being mentioned by David in several places of the Psalms, and by the sacred writers who succeeded, but never once by those who preceded him. Hesychius says it was *δυσηχον* a harsh-sounding instrument. Others, however, highly commend it. And in the Adulterer of Philemon, when one says that he knows not what the nabla is, another replies, *Ουκ οισθα ναβλαν; ιδεν αν οισθ' αγαθον.* "Not know the nabla! Then thou knowest naught that is good." Thus Bochart, (vol. i, p. 728.) And from the passage of Sopater there produced, from what Josephus says of the nabla, and from his joining it in the place above cited with the *κινυρα*, of which he says, *Η μεν κινυρα, δεκα χορδαις εξημμενη, τυπτεται πληκτρω*, that "it is furnished with ten strings, and played upon with a plectrum." From all this taken together I say it is manifest that the nabla was a stringed instrument, and therefore not, as a very ingenious writer to whom I am very much obliged has supposed, a kind of bagpipe, such as Dr. Russell (Nat. Hist. of Aleppo, p. 94) informs us is still in use about Aleppo. From Psalm xxxiii, 2, cxliv, 9, the nabla appears to have sometimes at least had only ten strings. And the Targum, Syriac, Septuagint and Vulgate, in both passages agree in this explanation of the word עשור gnasur or hasur.

The KINOOR (כנור) was a musical instrument of the stringed kind, a lute, harp, or the like, played on with the hand, according to 1 Sam. xvi, 23; though Josephus (Ant. lib. vii, cap. xii, § 3, edit. Hudson) says that the cinyra david, made for the Levites, was furnished with ten strings, and played on with a plectrum. From this word, no doubt, are derived not only the Greek *κιννρα*, a harp, by which the Seventy very frequently render it, but also *κιννρος* and *κιννρεσθαι*, signifying lamentation or moaning. Whence, as Bochart (vol. i, p. 729) has observed, it is probable that the Greeks used this instrument on mournful occasions; whereas among the Hebrews, playing on the כנור kinoor was a sign of joy, as Gen. xxxi, 27; 2 Chron. xx, 27, 28; Job xxi, 12; Psa. cxliv, 2, 3. Hence, however, as he farther remarks, it will not follow that the Hebrew כנור kinoor and Grecian *κιννρα* were instruments of different kinds: since the same sort of instruments might affect the mind in different manners, according as it was differently played upon. (See Isa. xvi, 11, and Calmet as above, and Parkhurst.)

Effects the most astonishing and almost preternatural are attributed in the Scriptures to the Hebrew music. To produce these the poetic compositions must have been exquisitely grand, the instruments perfect in their kinds, and perfectly adapted to the effects they were intended to produce, and the musicians uncommonly skilful. Of their instruments we know little

beside the *names*, and even the signification of these is by no means well ascertained. But much of their poetry remains, and is a standing monument of the high state of cultivation to which the most difficult of all sciences had arrived at a very early period among a people whom the proud and insolent Greeks affected to call barbarians.

Even an infidel who is capable of examining the poetic compositions of the Hebrews in their original language, will allow that they possess all the characteristics of the most energetic, sublime, and affecting poetry. In sacred poetry the inspired writers alone have succeeded: it belongs to the divine Spirit to describe the things of God in a suitable manner and in appropriate language; several eminent men have written upon this subject, and written well; but there is one point on which little has been said: viz., the combination of *sense* and *sound* in various parts of the poetic compositions of the Hebrew writers. For full evidence of the exquisite art possessed by some of the prophets in conveying the *sense* of their words by their *sounds*, I shall refer the learned reader, first to the *original* of David's lamentation over Saul and Jonathan. 2 Sam. i, 19–27. This lamentation is justly admired, says Dr. Kennicott, as a picture of distress, the most tender and the most striking; unequally divided by grief into longer and shorter breaks, as nature could pour them forth from a mind interrupted by the alternate recurrence of the most lively

images of *love* and *greatness*. His *reverence* for Saul, and his *love* for Jonathan, have their strongest colourings; but their *greatness* and *bravery* come full upon him, and are expressed with peculiar energy.

Being himself a *warrior*, it is in that character he sees their greatest excellence; and through his imagination hurries from one point of recollection to another, yet we hear him at first—at last—everywhere lamenting—"How are the mighty fallen!" It is almost impossible to read the noble original without finding every word swollen with a sigh or broken with a sob. A heart pregnant with distress, and striving to utter expressions descriptive of its feelings, (which are repeatedly interrupted by an excess of grief,) is most sensibly painted throughout the whole.

Even an English reader may be convinced of this from the following specimen, which includes only the three last hemistichs.

נפלאתה אהבתך לי כאהבת נשים

Niphleathah ahabtecha lie meahabath nashim.

Thy love to me was wonderful, beyond the love of women.

איך נפלו גברים

Eik naphelu gibborim.

How are the mighty fallen!

ו אבדו כלי מלחמה

Wayobedu kelee milchamah.

And the weapons of war perished!

The Psalms afford several instances of this connection of *sense* and *sound*. The following from Psalm xviii, 15, is a fine specimen :—

וברקים רב ויהמם

Oobrakkeem rabb vayhummem.

And lightnings he multiplied, and confounded them:

in which Dr. Delany has justly observed, the *rattling* and *pounding* of thunder are distinctly heard in the sounds of the original words.

We have another striking example in the 10th verse :—

וירכב על כרוב ויעף

Wayircav khal kerub waiyahoph.

He rode upon a cherub and did fly;

וידא על כנפי רוח

Wayede khal kanphee rooach.

Yea, he flew on the wings of the wind!

How astonishingly are the *blowing* and *rushing* of the wind expressed in the last word of each hemistich! The clap of the wing also in the word כנפי kanphee may be distinctly heard. Could such a coincidence be the effect of accident?

Sternhold and *Hopkins* have succeeded in their version of this place, not only beyond all their other efforts, but also beyond every ancient and modern poet on a similar subject. Their version conveys the true spirit of the original, and by those who understand it, will be found to be surprisingly *literal*.

" On cherub and on cherubim
Full royally he rode;
And on the wings of all the winds
Came flying all abroad."

But the most complete and striking examples of the combination of sense and sound which I recollect to have met with in the sacred writings, are the two following: the first is taken from Psalm lxxxi, 14 :—

לו עמי שמע לי

Loo ghammee shomeagh lee,

O that my people had hearkened unto me,

ישראל בדרכי יהלכו

Yisrael bidcrakee ychallekoo!

And Israel had walked in my ways!

The deep hollow sounds in these words, interspersed and interrupted at proper distances with strong gutturals, show a mind so much penetrated with sorrow and distress, that every accent forcibly expresses the anguish of the heart; and the *sounds* as strongly as the *sense* unite in a last effort of sorrowful, affectionate eloquence to call back an ungrateful and rebellious, but tenderly beloved people to a sense of their duty and interest; that their otherwise unavoidable destruction might be prevented.

The second is contained in Isa. xxiv, 16 :—

ויאמר רזי לי רזי לי

Wayomer razee lee, razee lee.

And I said, my leanness! my leanness!

אוי לי בגדים בגדו׃

Auee lee, bogedeem bagadoo.

Wo is me! the treacherous dealers have dealt treacherously!

ובגד בגדים בגדו

Oobeged bogedeem bagadoo.

Yea, the treacherous dealers have dealt treacherously!

I question whether the justly celebrated

Βη δ' ακεων παρα θινα πολυφλοισβοιο θαλασσης.

Silent, he wander'd by the *sounding main.*

Iliad, i, v. 32.

where the *swelling* of the wave and its *dash* upon the beach are inimitably expressed by the sounds of the words; or the famous

Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.

——————— the thundering *coursers bound*
Thro' clouds of dust, and *paw the trembling ground.*

Virgil, En. viii, l. 596.

where the numbers of the verse perfectly imitate the *prancing* or *trotting* of the steeds, possess such a claim to distinguished excellence as the above. Were ever plaintive sobbings more forcibly expressed than in the two last hemistichs?

CHAPTER XII.

The Politeness of the Israelites.

To return to the common sort of the Hebrews. Since they were so well instructed,

and born in a country where people are naturally ingenuous, they could not fail of being polite: for we are not to suppose *that* inconsistent with a country life and bodily labour. The example of the Greeks plainly proves the contrary. I mean by politeness here, in general, whatsoever distinguishes us from barbarous nations: on one side, humanity and civility, demonstrations of friendship and respect in the common transactions of life: and on the other, prudence in business, address, and propriety of behaviour, and all that comes under the denomination of good conduct.

As to civility, the Greeks, living for the most part in commonwealths, were so jealous of their liberty that they treated one another as equals, and their compliments went no farther than showing esteem and friendship, in which the Romans imitated them. The civilities of the eastern people came nearer to ours, and were most respectful. They called those *lords* whom they had a mind to honour, made vows of obedience to them, and bowed themselves to the earth before them, which the Scripture calls *adoring*.

The Hebrews did so even before they had kings, as early as the time of the patriarchs: which proceeded, in all likelihood, from the customs of the neighbouring people, who had long been subject to masters. It was not reckoned ill manners to say *thou* and *thee* to each other; all the ancients spoke in that manner, and most nations still do so. It was

not till about the decay of the Roman empire that the *plural* began to be used in speaking to *one* person.

It was usual to kiss in saluting; and, instead of uncovering, as we do, out of respect, they pulled off their shoes when they went into sacred places, as the eastern nations do to this day. Uncovering the head was a sign of mourning.

We see examples of their compliments in those of Ruth, ii, 10, 13; Abigail, 1 Sam. xxv, 23, 41; the woman of Tekoah, 2 Sam. xiv, 4, 9, 17, whom Joab employed to get Absalom recalled; and Judith, chap. x, 23. All these are examples of women, who are generally more complaisant than men. They liked to speak in parables and ingenious riddles. Their language was modest and chaste, but in a different manner from ours. They said *the water of the feet*, for urine; and *to cover the feet*, for easing nature; because, in that action, they covered themselves with their mantle, after they had dug a hole in the ground. Deut. xxiii, 13. They said *the thigh*, when they meant the parts which modesty forbids to name. In other respects they have expressions that seem very harsh to us; as when they speak of conception and the birth of children, of women that are fruitful or barren, and make no scruple of naming some infirmities of both sexes which we make use of circumlocution to express.

All these differences proceed only from distance of time and place. Most of the words

which are now immodest according to the present use of our language, were not so formerly, because they conveyed other ideas; and the eastern people, especially the Mohammedans, are ridiculously nice about certain indecencies that have no influence upon the manners, while they give themselves great liberty in the most infamous pleasures. The Scripture speaks more plainly than we should do of conjugal affairs, because there was not one Israelite that renounced marriage, and they that wrote were grave and commonly old men.

As for prudence, good or bad conduct, address, complaisance, artifice, and court intrigues, the history of Saul and David furnishes us with as many examples of them as any other with which I am acquainted.

CHAPTER XIII.

Their Amusements.

Their easy and quiet life, added to the beauty of the country, inclined them to amusements; but such as were rational, and easy to be procured. They had scarcely any but music and conviviality. Their feasts, as I have before observed, were made of plain meat, which they had out of their own stock; and their music cost them still less, since most people knew how to sing and play upon some instrument. Old Barzillai names only these two pleasures,

when he was too far advanced in years to relish life. 2 Sam. xix, 35. The author of Ecclesiasticus compares *a concert of music in a banquet of wine to a signet of carbuncle set in gold.* Ecclus. xxxii, 5, 6. So Ulysses frankly owned to the Phæacians, that he knew no greater happiness than a feast accompanied with music. (Odyss. lib. viii.) We see the same pleasures mentioned in those passages of Scripture where the prophets reproached those that abused them, but they added excess of wine, crowns and flowers, and perfumes, as we see the Greeks and Romans did. Amos vi, 4, 6; Isaiah v, 11, 12; xxviii, 3.

We have a catalogue of the perfumes which the Hebrews made use of in the Song of Solomon, and many other places of Scripture; but especially in the law, where it prescribes the composition of two sorts that were to be offered to God, the one wet, and the other dry. Exod. xxx, 23, &c. The drugs there named for making them are the most odoriferous that were known before musk and ambergris were found out.

They loved eating in gardens under arbours and shady places, for it is natural in hot countries to seek coolness and fresh air. So when the Scripture describes a time of prosperity, it says that every one ate and drank under his own vine and under his own fig tree, which fruit trees have the broadest leaves. 1 Kings iv, 4, 5; Mic. iv, 4; Zech. iii, 10.

Their employment in country labour did not

allow of their feasting or following their diversions every day, as most of the rich do now; but it served to make them relish them better. They had therefore stated times of rejoicing, Sabbath days, and all other feasts taken notice of in the law, weddings, dividing the spoil after victory, sheep shearing, harvest and vintage, in each particular estate, where the neighbours came together to assist each other. Isaiah ix, 3; xvi, 9, 10. It is well known that the feasts of Bacchus and Ceres had their rise among the Greeks from such rejoicings; and we still see some footsteps of it among the country people.* The Israelites had no profane shows. They were contented with the ceremonies of religion and the pomp of sacrifices, which must needs have been very great, since the temple was the most magnificent building in the whole country, and there were *thirty-two thousand* Levites appointed for its service.

I do not perceive that they had either *gaming* or *hunting*, which are reckoned with us among the highest diversions. As to gaming, it seems as if they were entirely ignorant of it, since we do not so much as once find the name of it in the whole Scripture. Not but the people of Lydia had already invented games, if what is said of them be true.† But to this day the Arabians

* In the feasts usually made at the conclusion of harvest, and bringing home the corn.

† Herodotus says (*Clio.* p. 45,) that the Lydians invented the plays of dice, tennis, tables, &c., (εξευρεθηναι δε ων τοτε και των κυβων, και των

and some other eastern nations play at no games of hazard, at least if they observe their law. As to hunting, either beasts or birds, it was not unknown to the Israelites; but it looks as if they followed it rather for furnishing their tables, and preserving their corn and vines, than for pleasure. For they often speak of nets and snares, but we do not find that even their kings had either dogs or any hunting equipage. It would no doubt have made them *odious* to have hunted *over ploughed lands*, or *bred beasts* to do *mischief*.* Hunting prevails chiefly in the vast forests and untilled lands of cold countries.

CHAPTER XIV.

Their Mourning.

After rejoicings, let us speak of their mourning and signs of affliction. The ancients did not only go into mourning upon the death of relations, but as often as any misfortune happened to them; and it did not consist merely in changing dress. The causes of it were either public calamities, as a *mortality*, a *general scarcity*, an *invasion*; or private misfortunes, as the *death* of a *relation* or *friend*, on account

αγραγαλων, και της σφαιρης,) to divert and amuse them in a time of great scarcity; but the account is accompanied with such circumstances as render it incredible.

* As it does those who employ themselves in this *unmanly* and *destructive* exercise in the present day.

of his being *dangerously ill*, or *taken captive*, or when one was *accused* of a *crime*.

The signs of mourning among the Israelites were, tearing their clothes as soon as they heard of any ill news, or if they happened to be present at committing any great wickedness, as blasphemy, or any other sin against God, 1 Kings xxi, 27 ; to beat their breast ; to put their hands upon their head, Jer. ii, 37 ; uncover it, and throw dust or ashes upon it, instead of perfumes, which they used in the times of joy ; to shave the beard and hair off. On the contrary, the Romans, who used to shave, let their hair grow in the time of mourning.

As long as the mourning lasted, they were neither to anoint nor wash themselves, but wear their clothes dirty and torn, or else put on sackcloth, which was a strait garment without folds, and consequently was very uneasy: they called it also haircloth, because the stuff was made of coarse camelot, or something else that was coarse or rough. They bared the feet as well as head, but had their face covered. Ezek. xxiv, 17. Sometimes they wrapped themselves up in a mantle, that they might not see light, and to hide their tears. They fasted at the same time that they mourned, that is, as long as they were in mourning. They either ate nothing at all, or not till after sunset, and then only plain food, as bread or herbs, and drank nothing but water.

They continued shut up, sitting upon the

ground, or lying in the ashes, keeping a profound silence, Lament. ii, 10, and not speaking but to bemoan themselves, or sing some doleful song. Mourning for a dead person commonly lasted *seven days*, 1 Sam. xxxi, 13; sometimes they continued it a *month*, as for Aaron and Moses, Num. xx, 29; Deut. xxxiv, 8; and sometimes *seventy days*, as they did for the patriarch Jacob.* But some widows mourned their whole lives, as Judith, and Anna the prophetess.

Thus their mourning was not, like ours, a mere ceremony, in which the rich only observe some set forms. It was attended with all the natural consequences of real grief; for a person in affliction takes no care of his dress, or of keeping himself clean; he can hardly resolve to eat; he speaks not, or if he does, it is only to bewail himself; he goes not abroad, and avoids all diversions. The Israelites were not the only people that mourned after this manner; the Greeks and Romans did so long after; since St. Chrysostom describes it to be pretty much the same in his time. (Chrysost. ad Demetr. de compunct. t. 6.) I do not doubt but some acted a part, and did all that I mentioned without being in any great concern; those, however, that were in earnest were at liberty, if they pleased, to indulge themselves in it.

* Gen. i, 3. But this seems to have been an Egyptian custom rather than one peculiar to the Hebrews; for it is expressly said that it was *the Egyptians* who *mourned for him* (Jacob) *threescore and ten days.*

But in general both the Israelites and all the ancients followed nature more than we, and were under less constraint in venting their passions. They sung and danced when they were pleased; and wept and cried aloud when they were grieved. When they were afraid, they owned it frankly; and in their anger they abused one another heartily. Homer and the tragic poets furnish us with examples in every page. See what affliction Achilles is in for the death of Patroclus, and in Sophocles the bitter lamentations of Œdipus and Philoctetes. Philosophy and Christianity have now corrected the outward behaviour in those that are well bred and have a good education. They are taught to speak like heroes or saints, though most are not at all better at the bottom, and are contented to disguise their passions, without conquering or even striving against them.

CHAPTER XV.

Their Funerals.*

Their funerals will fall in pretty well here with their mourning. The ancients in general took great care about them, and looked upon it as a terrible misfortune that their bodies, or those of their friends, should lie exposed to be

* For ample information on the subject of this chapter see *Joan. Nicolai de Sepulchris Hebræorum*, 4*to*, *Lug. Bat.* 1706.

torn by wild beasts and birds, or to putrify above ground, and infect the living. It was a consolation to rest in the sepulchre of their fathers. Instead of burning the bodies, as the Greeks did to preserve the ashes, the Hebrews buried the common sort of people, and embalmed persons of distinction to lay them in sepulchres. They also sometimes burned perfumes over the corpse. At the funeral of Asa, king of Judah, it is said, "they laid him on a bed which was filled with sweet odours, and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecaries' art; and they made a very great burning for him;" (2 Chron. xvi, 14, compared with 2 Chron. xxi, 19, and Jer. xxxiv, 5;) and that this was customary appears from other passages. They embalmed almost in the same manner as the Egyptians, wrapping the corpse in a great quantity of drying spices; after this they laid it in the sepulchre, which was a little cavity or closet, cut in the rock so artfully that some had doors to shut, which turned upon hinges, and a table to lay the body upon, all cut out of the same stone. There are still many of them to be seen.

They that attended the funeral were in mourning, and wept aloud, as they did at the burial of Abner. 2 Sam. iii, 31.

There were women that made a trade of crying upon these occasions, and joined the mournful sound of flutes with their voices.* In fine,

* Jer. ix. 17; Matt. ix, 23. This ceremony is still kept up among the native Irish; in what is termed

they composed songs instead of funeral orations for illustrious persons that came to an unfortunate end. Such were those that David made upon the death of Saul, 2 Sam. i, 17, and Jeremiah the prophet upon that of Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxv, 25.

Though burying the dead was a duty of piety, yet there was no religious ceremeny used at it: on the contrary it was a profane action, and rendered all those unclean that were concerned in it, till they were purified; because all dead bodies are either actually corrupted, or in a state that tends to it. Thus priests were so far from being necessary at burials, that they were absolutely forbidden to assist at any, except of their very near relations. Lev. xxi, 1, 2, 3. When Josiah designed to root out idolatry, he caused the bones of the false prophets to be burned upon the altars of the idols, 2 Chron. xxxiv, 5, to inspire his people with a greater abhorrence of them.

CHAPTER XVI.

Their Religion.

What has been said relates to the private life of the Israelites. We come now to their religious and political government. I shall not at present be very prolix in explaining their

their *Caoinian* or funeral cry, between whose customs and those of the ancient Hebrews there is a striking similarity.

creed: we ought to be acquainted with it, for it is contained in our own. I shall only observe that some truths were revealed to them clearly, while others were still obscure, though they were already revealed. (Jos. cont. App. l. ii, c. 8.)

What they knew distinctly was this: that there is but one God, Deut. iv, 39; vi, 4: that he governs all things by his providence, Psa. civ, cxxv, that there is no trust to be put in any but him, nor good to be expected from any one else, Psa. lxii; Isa. xxxvi, xxxvii; Jer. xvii, 5–8: that he sees every thing, even the secrets of the heart, Psa. cxxxix: that he influences the will by his inward operation, and turns it as he pleases, Prov. xxi, 1: that all men are born in sin, and naturally inclined to evil, Psa. li, 5; Gen. vi, 5: that, however, they may do good, yet only by God's assistance, Deut. xxx, 6; Ezek. xxxvi, 25, 27: that they are free, and have the choice of doing good or evil, Deut. xxx, 19, 20: that God is strictly just, and punishes or rewards men according to their works, Psa. xxxvii, 1, 6; xc, 1, &c.: that he is full of mercy and compassion for those that sincerely repent of their sins, Deut. xxxii, 1, 2; Exod. xxxiv, 7; Num. xiv, 18: that he judges the actions of all men after their death;* whence it follows that the soul is immortal, and that there is another life.

* Eccles. viii, 11, xi, 9, xii, 14; Wisdom ii, 23. How far this was their *general* belief, I must leave to be settled between Dr. Warburton and his opponents.

They knew besides, that God, out of his mere loving-kindness, had chosen them from among all mankind to be his faithful people, Deut. vii, 6; ix, 5, 6: that from them, of the tribe of Judah, and the family of David, would be born a Saviour, Gen. xlix, 10; Isa. xi, 1, 10, that should deliver them from all their hardships, and bring all nations to the knowledge of the true God. All this they knew very clearly, and it was the most usual subject of their prayers and meditations. This was that exalted wisdom which distinguished them from all the people of the earth. For whereas, in other nations, none but the wise men knew some of these great truths, and that but imperfectly, and had different opinions about them; (Orig. cont. Cels.;) all the Israelites were instructed in this doctrine, and did not vary the least in their notions about it. (Joseph. l. ii, c. App. 6.)

The truths they were taught more obscurely were, that in God there are three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Gen. i, 26; Psa. xxxiii, 6; Isa. xlviii, 16: that the Saviour they expected should be God, and the Son of God, Prov. xxx, 4: that he should be both God and man at the same time, Isa. vii, 14: that God would not give men his grace and the assistance necessary to perform his law, but through this Saviour, and upon account of his merits, Psa. xlv, 6, 7; Gen. xxii, 18: that he should suffer death to expiate the sins of mankind, Isa. liii, 5, 6, 11; Dan. ix, 26: that his kingdom should

be altogether spiritual: that all men shall rise again, Job xix, 25–27: that in another life there shall be a just reward for the good, Psa. xvii, 15, and punishment for the wicked. All this is taught in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, but not so clearly that all the people knew it; neither were men capable at that time of bearing such sublime truths.

But my design is only to explain in what the outward practice of their religion differed from our customs. They had only *one temple* and *one altar* on which it was lawful to offer sacrifice to God: this was a symbol of God's unity: and this building was the most magnificent in the whole world, to represent also his sovereign majesty. It was not one only building, like most of our churches, but a great enclosure, comprehending courts surrounded with galleries, and several offices for the different courses of priests and Levites, besides the body of the temple. The temples of other nations, as the Egyptians and Chaldeans, had also large edifices adjoining to them, and stood upon a great deal of ground: but they always planted trees about them: whereas the Israelites would not suffer any to grow near theirs, that they might keep entirely free from the superstition of groves, which the Pagans held sacred.

The body of the temple was sixty* cubits

* We find two different cubits in the Scripture; one of them equal (as Dr. Arbuthnot says) to an English foot, nine inches and eight hundred and eighty-eight

long, and twenty broad, and thirty high, without reckoning the *holy of holies*, which joined to it on the same floor, and was twenty cubits in length, and twenty in breadth, and twenty in height. (1 Kings vi, 2, 3, 20; Jos. Ant. l. xv, c. ult., and de bell. Jud. l. vi, c. 6.) At the entrance there was a porch that supported a great tower a hundred and twenty cubits high, and twenty broad. 2 Chron. iii, 4; 1 Kings vi, 3. I leave the learned to judge of the proportions. But I must desire those that think the temple small to consider that the people were never to go into it; only the priests, and such as waited on them, and that at stated times, morning and evening, to light the lamps, and offer bread and perfumes. The high priest was the only person that entered into the sanctuary where the ark of the covenant stood, nor did he go in oftener than once a year.

The whole temple and sanctuary, too, were wainscoted with cedar, adorned with carvings,

thousandths of an inch; being a fourth part of the *fathom*, double the *span*, and six times the *palm*. The other equal to one foot and eight hundred and twenty-four thousandths of a foot, or the four hundredth part of a *stadium*. The Romans too had a cubit equal to one English foot, five inches, and four hundred and six thousandths of an inch. Father Mersenne makes the Hebrew cubit one foot four digits and five lines, with regard to the foot of the capital. According to Hero, the geometrical cubit is twenty-four digits: and according to Vitruvius, the foot is two-thirds of the Roman cubit, *i. e.*, sixteen digits or fingers' breadths. The Scripture says here, the cubits were *after the first measure*. Vid. 2 Chron. iii, 3. E. F.

and all covered with plates of gold. On the outside it was surrounded with two cedar floors, which made three stories of *chambers* for different uses. (Cœnacula.) Before the temple, in a great court, was the altar for holocausts, or whole burnt-offerings, that is to say, a platform thirty cubits square and fifteen high. The priests went up to it by an easy ascent without steps, to place the wood and victims in order. In the same court were ten great brazen basins set upon rolling bottoms; and that which was supported by twelve oxen the Scripture calls the *brazen sea.*

This court belonged to the priests, especially that part between the altar and the porch; for the laity might advance as far as the altar to present their victims and slay them when they offered sacrifices. The Levites stood upon the stairs of the porch which faced the temple to sing and play upon musical instruments. Ezek. xl, xli, xlii. The court of the priests was enclosed with galleries, and surrounded with a first court much larger, which was the usual place for the people, where the women were separated from the men, and the Gentiles might not come any farther than to stand under the galleries which made the enclosure of the first court. There were several parlours, chambers, and storehouses, for different uses, adjoining to these galleries of each enclosure. (Gazophylacia, Pastophoria, Thalami, Exedræ, vid. Jer. xxxv, 4.)

They had treasuries for the sacred vessels of

gold and silver, which were so numerous that, even at their return from the captivity, they brought home five thousand four hundred, 1 Esd. ii, 14; vestries likewise for the sacerdotal habits, Ezek. xliv, 19, and storehouses, where they laid up the offerings set apart for the maintenance of the priests and Levites, widows and orphans; and what was committed to their charge by private people, 2 Chron. xxxi, 11; 2 Mac. iii, 10. For it was customary with the ancients to deposit what was given for the public in temples. (Talmud. Cod. Middoth.) In other places they kept wine and oil for the libations, salt to season all the sacrifices, and the lambs that had been picked out to be offered at the evening and morning sacrifice, which was never omitted. In other places they made show-bread, and what other pastry was necessary for the sacrifices. They had kitchens for the flesh of the victims, eating rooms for the priests and guard of the Levites, that kept the doors and watched the temple day and night; beside lodgings for those of them that were musicians, Ezek. xl, 44; one where the Nazarites were shaved after their vow; another to examine lepers in a hall where the chief council of seventy elders was held, and other rooms of the same nature, with which we are not so particularly acquainted. So many fine regular buildings gave, no doubt, a high idea of the great King that was served in that sacred place.

They offered four lambs every day for a holocaust, two in the morning and two in the

evening: and this is what was called *the continual sacrifice.* (תמיד ενδελεχισμος, juge sacrificium.) On Sabbath and festival days the sacrifices were multiplied in proportion to the solemnity, without reckoning the offerings of private people, which were daily very numerous.

We are offended at the bloody sacrifices which made the temple a shambles: but it was the same among other nations; and the Israelites had taken sufficient precautions for performing these sacrifices with all the cleanliness and decency imaginable. The situation of the temple contributed to it: for, as it was upon a mountain, they had made drains underneath to carry off the blood and nastiness. The peculiar part of the priests' office was only to pour out the blood, light the fire, and lay the pieces upon it that were to be offered. Lev. iv, 10. There were others to kill the victims, prepare them, cut them in pieces, and dress them; we see it in the law, and the story of the sons of Eli. 1 Sam. ii, 13. The priests never did these things but at the public sacrifices that were offered for all the people.

After this we are not to think the comparison of a *pot* strange, which we read of in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, to represent Jerusalem. Jer. i, 13; Ezek. xxiv, 3, 4. These two prophets were priests, and used to see the sanctified meat dressed. Now they esteemed every thing honourable that was employed in the service of God, and the performing of the law: besides, it was usual for the very best of people

to work with their own hands, and do the necessary offices of life themselves, as we said before. Thus, in Homer, king Agamemnon kills the lambs with his own hands, (Iliad iii, v. 290,) the blood of which was the seal of the treaty he had made with the Trojans. Thus, when Nestor sacrificed to Minerva, his own sons kill the victims, cut the flesh in pieces, and broil it. (Odyss. iii, v. 448–465.) Homer abounds with examples of this sort, not only when he is speaking of religious matters, but upon other occasions; as when Achilles entertained the messengers of the other Grecian generals.

As to the rest, every thing that is prescribed by the law relating to the quality of victims, and the manner of performing the sacrifices, tended rather to cure the Israelites of their superstitions by confining them to a few ceremonies, than to introduce new ones. (Tertull. in Marc. l. ii, cap. 18.) Idolaters sacrificed in more places, used more ceremonies, and a greater variety of animals, (Herod. l. ii, c. 40:) for they had every where temples and altars, and each family had their domestic gods and particular superstitions. Thus God prepared his people in a distinct manner for the abolishing bloody sacrifices, telling them often at the same time, by his prophets, that he had no need of them, that they were not essential to religion, and that the worship most agreeable to him was gratitude and purity of heart. 1 Sam. xv, 22; Psa. l, 8, &c.; Isa. lxvi, 3.

It was necessary for the priests to be married, as the priesthood was annexed to the family of Aaron: but they parted from their wives during the time of their officiating, and drank neither wine nor any other liquor that could intoxicate. Lev. x, 9. The same abstinence may be observed among idolaters, especially the Egyptians; and their priests wore nothing but linen, and shoes made of the plant *papyrus* that gives name to *paper*, that they might not have any thing about them that came from dead beasts, and tended to corruption. The Israelitish priests officiated barefoot, but with linen garments on. They were forbidden to wear any woollen, and put off those sacred vestments when they came out of their court to go into that of the people. Ezek. xliv, 17. The priests and all the Levites led a pastoral life, (that was so dear to the patriarchs when they were not upon duty, and had no other substance than their flocks:) for they were excluded from any share of land, to wean them the more from temporal cares, and give them greater leisure to employ themselves in the affairs of religion. Yet they were wealthy when the people paid them justly what was ordered by the law; for, though there were fewer of that tribe* than of any else, they had tithe of all fruits gathered by the other twelve, and consequently their share was the largest. They had, besides, the

* About a 30th of the whole. Nearly a 27th part, Num. i, 32; iii, 43, and a 32d in 1 Sam. xxiv, 9; 1 Chron. xxiii, 3. E. F.

firstlings of all animals, without reckoning their own cattle, and the daily offerings, on which the priests lived when they served at the altar.

I do not perceive that they were excluded from any civil office: they bore arms like other men, and the priests sounded the trumpet in the army, and upon all other occasions, 2 Chron. xiii, 12; for they made use of silver trumpets to proclaim the feasts and call the people to public prayers; and the name of *jubilee* is derived from a ram's horn which was sounded to give notice of its opening.* The ancient monks of Egypt observed the custom of blowing a trumpet at the hours of prayer; for the use of bells is more modern.

The feasts of the Israelites were the Sabbath; the first day of each month, called in our translation calends or *new moon*; the three great feasts of the *passover*, *pentecost*,

* Num. x; Joseph. Ant. iii, 12; Lev. xxv, 9. Jubilee in Hebrew יובל yobel, some say *from* יבל yabal, *to bring* or *carry along*; there is no evidence that it ever signifies a *ram's horn*, though translated so in a few places of our English version, but none of the ancient versions acknowledge this sense of the word except the Chaldee. The word is of uncertain etymology; Josephus says it signifies liberty.—ελευθεριαν δε σημαινει τουνομα. (Ant. lib. iii, c. 10, p. 96, edit. Colon. 1691.) What authority he had for this interpretation of the word I know not: but it is full as likely as the rabbinical definition *ram's horn*, which is now commonly imposed on it. Calmet derives it from היבול hobeel, *to cause to bring back* or *recall*, because estates, &c., which had been alienated were then *brought back* to their primitive owners. This appears to be the true derivation of the word.

and *tabernacles*, instituted in memory of the three greatest blessings they received from God, the coming out of Egypt, the promulgation of the law, and their settlement in the promised land after their journeying in the wilderness, where they had so long lodged under tents. Levit. xxiii. These great solemnities lasted seven days, probably in memory of the week of the creation.

Their year consisted of twelve months, each of thirty days,* very little different from ours. Thus we find it regulated from Noah's time, as appears by the date of the deluge; but it is thought it began then at the autumnal equinox. Moses was ordered to begin it in spring, in the month Abib, which was that of the passover, Exod. xiii, 4; and it is with respect to the first month that the others are reckoned, which are only named from their number. They agree very nearly with our Roman months, the names of which come from the old year that began in the month of *March*. Thus, the *eighth* month was *October*, at least part of it; the *ninth* happened in *November*, and so on. They computed their month by the moon, at least in later times; not astronomically, but according to its appearance, from the day that they, whose business it was, had declared the new moon, which was the day after it appeared.

The feasts of the Israelites were true feasts, that is to say, times of real joy. All the men

* In Gen. vii, 11, compared with viii, 3, 4, we see one hundred and fifty days are equal to five months.

were obliged to be at Jerusalem at the great feasts of the passover, pentecost, and tabernacles, and the women were permitted to come too. The concourse was then very great; everybody dressed and adorned themselves in their best clothes. They had the pleasure of seeing all their friends and relations: they assisted at the prayers and sacrifices, which were always accompanied with music; after that followed the feasts, in which they ate the peace-offerings in this magnificent temple. The law itself commanded them to rejoice, and join sensible mirth to spiritual.

We must not wonder, therefore, if it was agreeable news to hear that a feast was nigh, and that they were soon to go to the house of the Lord; that they esteemed those happy that spent their life there, Psa. cxxii, 1; lxxxiv. 1, &c.; that they went thither in great troops, singing and playing on instruments, and that, on the contrary, they thought themselves unhappy when they could not be there, which David so often laments in his exile. Psa. xlii, 4; xliii, 4.

CHAPTER XVII.

Their Fasts and Vows.

Fasting days were quite the reverse of festivals. Upon those they did all that I have related in speaking of mourning: for fasting and mourning with them were the same thing. It

did not consist therefore only in eating *later*, but being afflicted in all respects. They spent the whole day without eating or drinking till night. Isaiah lviii, 5. Thus the Jews still fast, and the Mohammedans, who herein imitate both them and the primitive Christians. (See an enumeration of the fasts of the Hindoos and Mohammedans at the end of this chapter.) They observed a strict silence, put on sackcloth and ashes, and expressed every other sign of affliction. The public fasts were proclaimed by sound of trumpet, as well as the feasts: 1 Kings xxi, 12; Joel ii, 15, 16, &c.: all the people at Jerusalem met together in the temple, and at other places in the public square: they read lessons out of the law, and the most venerable old men exhorted the people to confess their sins and repent of them. They never married upon those days: such as were already married separated themselves from their wives.

The law had appointed but one fast day, the tenth of the seventh month, which was the feast of atonement: Lev. xvi, 29, &c.: but from the time of the Prophet Zechariah they reckoned three more; one in the fourth month, one in the fifth, and another in the tenth. Zech. viii, 19. They had extraordinary fasts; some in public calamities, as the dearth which Joel speaks of; others upon particular misfortunes, as David's fast for the sickness of his child, that was the offspring of his great crime, 2 Sam. xii, 16: for the death of Abner, 2 Sam. iii,

31, and upon many other occasions mentioned in the Psalms, xxxv, 13, 14; lxix, 10 11. In fine, they had fasts which they imposed upon themselves out of pure devotion, or to perform some vow; for they were very strict in keeping their vows and oaths. As to vows, the instance of Jephthah is but too convincing, Judg. xi, 35; and for oaths, Joshua kept the promise he made to the Gibeonites, Josh. ix, 19, though it was obtained by a manifest fraud, because he had sworn to them by the name of the Lord. Saul had resolved to put Jonathan to death for transgressing the order he had made with an oath, 1 Sam. xiv, 27, though Jonathan offended only through ignorance; and we see many more examples of it. They entered into such solemn engagements very seriously, and did not allow themselves any latitude in interpreting them. Swearing by the name of God was an act of religion, Psa. lxiii, 11; for this oath distinguished the Israelites from those that swore by the name of false gods; this is to be understood of lawful and necessary oaths, such as are taken in a court of judicature.

Their vows consisted usually in offering some part of their substance to God, either for his service in sacrifices, or to be set apart by itself. Thence came those great treasures in Solomon's temple, which were made up of the offerings of David, Samuel, Saul, Abner, and Joab. 1 Chron. xxvi, 27. It was chiefly of the booty taken from enemies. The Gentiles made such offerings in the temples of their false

gods sometimes upon other occasions: we need no other example than the temple of Delphi, and the rich presents that Crœsus sent to obtain favourable oracles. (Herodot. l. i, p. 21, 22.)

The most considerable vow was that of the Nazarites, who obliged themselves for so long a time to drink no wine nor strong drink, nor to cut their hair, and to keep themselves carefully from all legal impurities, particularly from coming near dead bodies. Num. vi, 1–21. The rule of the Rechabites seems to be founded upon such vows. The author of it was Jonadab the son of Rechab, 2 Kings x, 15, who lived in the time of Jehu, king of Israel, and the Prophet Elisha. He forbade his children to drink wine, build houses, to plant, to have lands, or vineyards. Jer. xxxv, 6. They abode, therefore, under tents, employing themselves in all probability as the Levites did in breeding cattle, and exactly imitating the pastoral life of the patriarchs; they were married, and inviolably observed this rule in their family, at least one hundred and eighty years, for we cannot tell what became of them after the captivity.

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A SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XVII.

Concerning the Fasts of the Hindoos and Mohammedans.

As the Hindoos and Mohammedans approach nearest in their religious austerities to the an-

cient Hebrews, the following concise view of the fasts practised among them, taken from the best authorities, will not be considered an unprofitable digression in this place.

There are twelve kinds of fasts among the Hindoos.

1st. The person neither eats nor drinks for a day and night. This fast is indispensable, and occurs twenty-nine times in the year.

2d. The person fasts during the day, and eats at night.

3d. The person eats nothing but fruits, and drinks milk or water.

4th. He eats once during the day and night.

5th. Eats one particular kind of food during the day and night, but as often as he pleases.

6th. Called *chanderaym*, which is to eat one mouthful only on the first day, two on the second, and thus continue increasing one mouthful every day for a month, and then decreasing one mouthful every day till he leaves off where he began.

7th. The person neither eats nor drinks for twelve days. How such a fast can be supported I cannot tell. Though it is prescribed in their law, it is not likely that it is ever observed, at least rigidly.

8th. Lasts twelve days: the first three days he eats a little once in the day; the next three he eats only once in the night; the next three he eats nothing, unless it be brought to him; and during the last three days he neither eats nor drinks.

9th. Lasts fifteen days: for three days and three nights he eats only one handful at night; the next three days and nights he eats one handful if it be brought to him; if not, he takes nothing. Then he eats nothing for three days and three nights. The next three days and nights he takes only a handful of warm water each day. The next three days and nights he takes only a handful of warm milk each day.

10th. For three days and nights he neither eats nor drinks: he lights a fire and sits at a door where there enters a hot wind, which he draws in with his breath.

11th. Lasts fourteen days: three days and three nights he eats nothing but leaves; three days and three nights nothing but the Indian fig; three days and three nights nothing but the seed of the lotus; three days and three nights nothing but peepul leaves; three days and three nights the expressed juice of a particular kind of grass called *doobah*.

12th. Lasts a week: 1st day he eats milk; 2d, milk curds; 3d, ghee, *i. e.*, clarified butter; 4th, cow's urine; 5th, cow's dung; 6th, water; 7th, nothing; plays no game; has no connection with women; neither shaves nor anoints himself, and bestows alms each day.—*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. iii, pp. 247–250.

Mohammedan Fasts.

Fasting is considered by the *Mohammedans* as an essential part of piety. Their orthodox

divines term it *the gate of religion:* with them it is of *two* kinds, *voluntary* and *incumbent;* and it is distinguished by the *Mosliman* doctors into three degrees: 1st. Abstinence from every kind of nourishment or carnal indulgence. 2d. Restraining the various members from every thing which might excite sinful or corrupt desires. 3d. The abstracting the mind wholly from worldly cares, and fixing it exclusively upon God. Their great annual fast is kept on the month *Ramzan*, beginning at the first new moon, and continuing until the appearance of the next; during which it is required to abstain from every kind of nourishment from daybreak till after sunset of each day. From this observance none are excused but the sick, the aged, and *children*. But if the sick recover, they are required to make up for what they have lost, by fasting an equal number of days after their health is perfectly restored. This is properly the Mohammedan *Lent*. Any breach of the duty of fasting, especially in the month *Ramzan*, must be expiated by a donation of alms to the poor.

The *Nifl* or *voluntary* fasts are those not enjoined by the law, but which a man imposes on himself for some particular reason. They are often sufficiently severe. All fasting is considered in the light of making atonement for sin. The common sense of all nations agreeing in this, that sin requires an expiation: but the Christian religion alone shows the true one.—See *Hedayah. Prel. Dis.*, p. 55.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Their Prophets.

ANOTHER sort of religious people, and much more considerable (than the Rechabites) were the prophets. There was a great number of them from Samuel's time: witness that company which Saul met, who prophesied at the sound of instruments, transported by the Spirit of God, 1 Sam. x, 5; and that other company which prophesied before Samuel, and seem to have been his disciples. 1 Sam. xix, 20. But it does not appear that there ever were so many as from the days of Elijah and Elisha to the Babylonish captivity. They lived separate from the world, distinguished by their habit and way of living; they dwelt upon mountains, as Elijah and Elisha did upon Carmel and Gilgal. The rich woman who lodged Elisha when he went by Shunem had a chamber, as I said, built and furnished for him, 2 Kings iv, 10, where he lived so retired that he did not speak so much as to the person who entertained him, but made his servant Gehazi speak to her for him: and when she came to entreat him to raise her son to life again, Gehazi would not let her touch the prophet's feet. 2 Kings iv, 27. When Naaman, general of the Syrian armies, came to him to be cured of his leprosy, he sent him word what to do, without being seen by him. 2 Kings v, 10.

Two other of this prophet's miracles show

that his disciples lived in societies ; that of the herb pottage which he made wholesome, and that of the barley bread which he multiplied, 2 Kings iv, 38, 41, 43, 44 ; which shows also the plainness of their food. There were a hundred prophets that lived together in this society, and they wrought with their hands ; for, finding their lodgings too strait, they went themselves to cut down wood to build with, and were so poor that one of them was obliged to borrow a hatchet. 2 Kings vi, 5.

Their dress was sackcloth or haircloth, that is *mourning*, to show they were always in affliction for the sins of the people. Thus to describe Elijah, they said he was a man clothed in a hairy garment, and girt with a girdle of leather about his loins. 2 Kings i, 8. Thus, when God bids Isaiah undress himself, he orders him to loose his sackcloth from off his loins. Isa. xx, 2. It appears that the two great prophets mentioned in the Revelation were both clothed in sackcloth. Rev. xi, 3.

The prophets, at least some of them, were nevertheless married men ; and that widow whose oil Elisha multiplied was a prophet's widow. 2 Kings iv, 1. It seems also as if their children followed the same profession, for the prophets are often called sons of the prophets ; which made Amos say, " I was no prophet, nor prophet's son, but only a herdsman," Amos vii, 14 ; to show that he did not prophesy by profession, but by an extraordinary call. For though God most frequently made use of such

as led a prophetic life to declare his will, yet he was under no obligation not to make revelations to any one else.

Yet commonly none were reckoned prophets but such as led that sort of life; whence it comes that the writings of David, Solomon, and Daniel, are not put by the Jews among the prophetic books, Ecclus. xlix, 10, because the two first were kings, living delicately and magnificently; and the other a Persian governor, who also lived at court, and in the hurry of the world: but this distinction is not attended to by our Lord, who expressly calls Daniel a prophet. Matt. xxiv, 15.

These holy men, after the patriarchs, preserved the purest tradition of the true religion: their employment was meditating upon the law of God, praying to him often day and night, both for themselves and others, and inuring themselves to the practice of every virtue. They instructed their disciples, explained to them the spirit and meaning of the law, and opened to them the sublime mysteries relating to the state of the church, either upon earth or in heaven, after the Messiah should come, that were hidden under allegories of things sensible and seemingly mean. They instructed the people, too, who came to hear them upon Sabbath and other feast days. They reproved them for their vices, and exhorted them to repent, often foretelling, from God, what was to happen to them. 1 Kings xxi, 20. This liberty which they took of speaking the most disagreeable

truths, even to kings, made them hated, and cost many of them their lives.

However, there were many impostors, who counterfeited the outward demeanour of true prophets; wore sackcloth as they did; spake the same language, pretending they were also inspired by God, Zech. xiii, 4; but they took care not to foretell any thing that would be disagreeable either to the prince or the people. The false gods also had their prophets, as the eight hundred and fifty whom Elijah caused to be slain. 1 Kings xviii, 19 and 40. Of the same sort were the soothsayers among the Greeks, who were called *manteis* μαντεις, as Calchas and Tiresias in the times of the heroes: such likewise were they that gave out oracles, or made money of them, and the poets, who said they also were inspired by the gods. For they did not mean to have it thought that they said so only in a poetical manner, but to make it believed that they really were: and, in fact, these false prophets, either by the operation of the devil, or some artifice, became transported, and spake in an unusual style, to imitate the visible effects which the Spirit of God caused in the true prophets. Now those Israelites that were not thoroughly confirmed in their religion lay under great temptations to consult these diviners and false oracles, and it was a part of idolatry which they were very subject to fall into, during the whole period of which we speak.

CHAPTER XIX.

Their Idolatry.*

This propensity to idolatry appears to us very strange and absurd in the manners of the Israelites; and hence many have imagined that they were a brutish and unpolished people. We see no idolaters now; we only hear it said that there are some in the Indies, and in other remote countries.

But all people that live about us, Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans, preach one only God Almighty. The most ignorant country people know this truth distinctly; we conclude, therefore, that such as believed in more gods than one, and adored pieces of wood and stone, ought to be accounted the most ignorant of mankind, and perfect barbarians. However, we cannot call the Romans, Greeks, Egyptians, Syrians, and other people of antiquity, ignorant and barbarians, from whom all arts, human learning, and politeness have been handed down to us: neither can we deny that idolatry reigned among them in the most absolute manner, at the very time when in every thing else they were perfectly ingenious and polite. Let us stop here then a little, and search into the source of this evil.

The mind of man is so overcast since the

* On the origin and progress of idolatry, see *Maimonides de idolatria, cum interpretatione et notis Dionysii Vossii*, 4to., Amst. 1642, which contains a great variety of curious matter.

fall that, while he continues in the state of corrupted nature, he has no notion of spiritual things; he thinks of nothing but matter and corporeal subjects, and makes light of whatsoever does not fall within the compass of his senses; nor does any thing appear even substantial to him, but what strikes the grossest of them, the taste and touch: we see it too plainly in children, and men that are guided by their passions; they make no account of any thing but what they can see and feel: every thing else they look upon as castles in the air. Yet these men are brought up in the true religion, in the knowledge of God, in a belief of the immortality of the soul and a future state. What sentiments had the ancient Gentiles, who never heard these things mentioned, and had only objects of sense and matter laid before them by their wisest men? We may read Homer, the great divine and prophet of the Greeks, as long as we please; we shall not find there the least hint that can induce us to imagine he had any notion of things spiritual and incorporeal.

Thus all their wisdom was employed in what relates to the body and senses. The design of their bodily exercises, and all that gymnastic regimen which they made so much noise about, was to preserve and increase their health, strength, dexterity, and beauty; and they carried that art to the utmost perfection. Painting, sculpture, and architecture delight the eyes; and they had advanced them to such a

pitch, that their villas, cities, and whole country were full of entertaining objects, as we see by the descriptions of Pausanias. They excelled also in music; and though poetry seems to strike deeper than the senses, it reaches no farther than the imagination, which has the same objects, and produces the like effects. Their laws, and most ancient rules of morality, all relate to the senses; providing that their lands should be well cultivated, that each particular person should have enough to live comfortably upon, that men should marry healthy and fruitful wives, that children should be educated so as to have strong constitutions, and be fit for war; and that every body should be protected from being injured, either by strangers or bad neighbours.

They studied the good of the soul so little that they depraved it extremely by the too great care they took in improving the body. It was of dangerous consequence to expose statues and pictures, even the most obscene, in every part naked and uncovered: and the danger was still greater to painters and sculptors, who copied from the life. No matter, there was a necessity for gratifying the lust of the eyes. It is well known at what a degree of debauchery the Greeks were arrived by these fine customs: they practised the most abominable lewdness, and not only practised, but held it in esteem. Their music and poetry, likewise fomenting the same vices, both excited and kept up jealousies and mortal hatred between the poets, the actors,

and spectators ; and particular characters were cruelly slandered and pulled in pieces ; but this never gave them any concern, provided the spectacles were diverting, and the songs such as entertained them.

The same may be said of their religion : instead of improving, it was prejudicial to their morals. Now the rise of all these evils was man's forgetting himself and his spiritual nature. All mankind had preserved a constant tradition that there was a nature more excellent than the human, capable of doing them good or harm ; and being acquainted with none but corporeal beings, they would persuade themselves that this nature, that is, the divinity, was so too : and, consequently, that there were many gods, that every part of the creation might have some, and that each nation, city, and family had deities peculiar to itself. They fancied they were immortal, and, to make them happy, attributed to them all sorts of pleasures, (without which they thought there could be no true felicity,) and even the most shameful debaucheries : which, afterward, again served to countenance their own passions by the example of their gods. They were not content with imagining them either in heaven or upon earth : they must see them and touch them : for which reason they honoured idols as much as the gods themselves, conceiving that they were united and incorporated with them : and they honoured these statues so much the more for their beauty, or antiquity, or any other sin-

gularity they had to recommend them. Wisdom xiii, 10.

Their worship was of a piece with their belief. Wisdom xiv, 27–29. It was wholly founded upon two passions, the love of pleasure and the fear of coming to any outward harm. Their sacrifices were always accompanied with feasts, and music, and dancing. Comedy and tragedy had their rise from their merrymakings after vintage in honour of Bacchus. (Tertull. de Spect. August. 2 de Civ. Dei.) The Olympic games and other trials of skill, so much celebrated in history, were instituted in honour of their gods. In short, all the Grecian shows were acts of religion, and it was a piece of devotion, in their way, to assist at the most scandalous of Aristophanes' comedies. Thus, their chief business in time of peace was taking care of the *sacred combats* and theatrical shows; and often in time of war they were more attentive to these things, and at greater expense about them, than in the war itself. (Demosth. Philipp. 5.)

Their religion then was not a doctrine of morality, like the true religion; (August. de verâ Relig. in init.;) they reckoned him a saint that was neither murderer, traitor, nor guilty of perjury; who avoided the company of those that had committed such crimes, who kept up the rights of hospitality and places of refuge, who faithfully performed his vows, and gave liberally toward sacrifices and public shows. Religion was looked upon as a trade; (Plato

Eutyphron. ;) they made offerings to the gods, that they might obtain what they desired in their prayers. As to any thing else, debauchery did not offend it at all. Apuleius, after all the villanous actions with which he fills his metamorphosis, concludes with a description of his devotions, (Apul. l. i,) that is, how officious he was to get himself initiated into all sorts of mysteries, and how exact in observing all the ceremonies of them. Debauchery was so far from being condemned by religion, that it was sometimes enjoined : there was no celebrating the Bacchanal feasts in a proper manner without getting drunk, (Clem. Alex. in protrept.,) and there were women that prostituted themselves in honour of Venus, particularly at Corinth. It is well known what the god of gardens and the mysteries of Ceres and Cybele were.

Thus they honoured the gods whom they thought kind and beneficent. But for the infernal deities, Hecate, the Eumenides, or Furies, the Parcæ, or Destinies, and others, with the stories of whom they were terrified, they were to be appeased with nocturnal sacrifices and frightful inhuman ceremonies. Some buried men alive; others sacrificed children, and sometimes their own : (Wisd. xiv, 23 :) as the worshippers of Moloch, mentioned with so much detestation in Scripture, who still kept up this abominable custom in Africa in Tertullian's time. (Tertull. Apol. c. 9.)

To this fear and dread were owing all the rest

of their cruel and troublesome superstitions; as letting themselves blood with lancets, or cutting themselves with knives, as the false prophets of Baal and the priests of Cybele did, 1 Kings xviii, 28; as their fasting, and bathing in cold water,* and other such things. They thought thereby to avert particular evils or public calamities, with which they were threatened in dreams and prodigies, according to the interpretation of their soothsayers. These were the remedies by which they imagined they could prevent sickness, plague, hail, and famine. For upon such occasions, mankind is apt rather to do things that are of no use at all, than to omit any thing that may be thought serviceable. All their lustrations or expiations for crimes were troublesome superstitions of this sort: they consisted in purifying the body by water or fire, and performing certain sacrifices; but there was no mention of either repentance or conversion.

It will seem strange, perhaps, that people so wise as the Grecians should be led away by such gross superstitions, and so easily suffer themselves to be imposed upon by astrologers,

* Jupiter, ingentes qui das adimisque dolores,
Frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit; illo
Mané die, quo tu indicis jejunia, nudus
In Tiberi stabit.

Hor. lib. ii, Sat. iii, 288-292.

O Jupiter, thou who inflictest and removest great calamities,
If this shivering ague shall leave my son,
He shall stand naked in the Tiber on the morning of thy fast day.

divines, soothsayers, and many other sorts of conjurers. But it must be considered that, till Alexander's time, and the reign of the Macedonians, they had made no great progress in such learning as might cure them of superstition. They excelled in arts; their laws were wise: in a word, they had brought every thing to perfection that makes life easy and agreeable: but they took little pains in the speculative sciences, geometry, astronomy, and physics. The anatomy of plants and animals, the knowledge of minerals and meteors, the form of the earth, the course of the planets, and the whole system of the world, were still mysteries to them.

The Chaldeans and Egyptians, who already knew something of them, kept it a great secret, and never spoke of them but in riddles, with which they mixed an infinite number of superstitions and fables.

As these sciences depend chiefly upon experience, a succession of ages always improves them, and they are at present in the greatest perfection they ever were. They are taught openly to any one that will apply himself to them; and they agree perfectly with our holy religion, which condemns all superstition, divination, and magic; however, we find but too many that give ear to astrologers and such impostors, not only peasants and ignorant people of the lowest sort, but ladies that value themselves upon their wit, politeness, and knowledge; and men that, notwithstanding

they have had a good education, set up for free-thinkers, and cannot possibly submit to the dictates of true religion.

What then must be the case when all this nonsense made a part of religion; when conjurers were taken for men really inspired; when astrology, pyromancy, necromancy, and such knaveries were esteemed divine knowledge? How was it possible to resist the authority of the priests, who gravely recounted an infinite series of proofs in confirmation of their doctrine, and were implicitly obeyed by whole nations? They could not help believing them when they did not know how to account for these things in a philosophical manner; and if they had known, they must have been very bold to have contradicted them.*

A proneness to idolatry was not, therefore, peculiar to the Israelites. It was a general evil; and the hardness of heart with which the Scripture so often reproaches them, is not for their being more attached to earthly things than other people, but for being so much as they were,

* The intelligent abbé had no doubt the case of Galileo in view when he wrote the above. This great philosopher, for asserting the true system of the world, was twice imprisoned by the *holy infallible inquisition*, in 1612 and 1632; obliged to renounce his heretical opinions, and not to defend them by word or writing; was condemned to imprisonment during pleasure, and to repeat the seven penitential psalms once a week; and his books being condemned also, were publicly burned at Rome! The doctrine for which he was persecuted is now believed by the pope and all his conclave!

after having received such particular favours from the hand of God, and seen the great wonders that he had wrought for them. It is true much resolution was necessary to resist the influence of the bad example of all other nations. When an Israelite was out of his own country, and among infidels, they reproached him with having no religion at all, because they did not see him offer any sacrifice, or worship idols; and when he told them of his God, the creator of heaven and earth, they laughed at him, and asked where he was. These taunts were hard to bear: David himself says that when he was an exile "he fed himself day and night with his tears," because they daily asked him *where his God was.* Psa. xliii, 3. Weak minds were staggered with these attacks, and often gave way to them.

The propensity that all mankind have to pleasure heightened the temptation; as the heathen feasts were very frequent and magnificent, curiosity easily prevailed upon young people, especially women, to go and see the pomp of their processions, the manner of dressing out the victims, the dancing, the choirs of music, and ornaments of their temples. Some officious body engaged them to take a place at the feast, and eat the meat that was offered to idols, or come and lodge at his house. They made acquaintance and carried on love intrigues, which generally ended either in downright debauchery, or marrying contrary to the law. Thus did idolatry insinuate itself by the

most common allurements of women and good cheer. In the time of Moses, the Israelites were engaged in the infamous mysteries of Baal Peor by the Midianitish women, Num. xxv, 1–3, who were the *strange women* that perverted Solomon.

Besides, the law of God might appear too severe to them. They were not allowed to sacrifice in any place but one, by the hands too of such priests only as were descended from Aaron, and according to some very strict rules. They had but three great feasts in the whole year, the passover, pentecost, and feast of tabernacles: a very few for people that lived in plenty, and in a climate that inclined them to pleasure: as they lived in the country, employed in husbandry, they could not conveniently meet together but at feasts, and for that reason were obliged to borrow some of strangers, and invent others. Do not we ourselves, who think we are so spiritual, and no doubt ought to be so, if we were true Christians, often prefer the possession of temporal things to the hope of eternal? And do not we endeavour to reconcile many diversions with the gospel, which all antiquity has judged inconsistent with it, and against which our instructers are daily exclaiming? It is true we hold idolatry in detestation, but it is now no longer a familiar sight, and has been quite out of fashion above a thousand years. We are not then to imagine that the Israelites were more stupid than other people, because the particular favours

they had received from God could not reclaim them from idolatry. But it must be owned that the wound of original sin was very deep, when such holy instructions and repeated miracles were found insufficient to raise men above sensible things.* But however impure the state of the Israelites may appear, we see a much greater degree of blindness and impurity in other nations, particularly among the Greeks and Egyptians; who were in other respects the most enlightened.

CHAPTER XX.

Their Political State, Liberty, and Domestic Power.

After religion we must say something of the political state of the Israelites. They were perfectly free, especially before they had kings. They had neither homages, nor manors, nor prohibitions from hunting or fishing; nor any of those kinds of dependences which are so common among us, that lords themselves are not exempt from them. For we see sovereign princes that are vassals, and even officers under other sovereigns, as in Germany and Italy. They enjoyed therefore that liberty so highly valued by the Greeks and Romans, and it was

* And here we may see the absolute necessity of that Holy Spirit which the gospel has promised, to purify the heart from all its defilements, to bring life and immortality to light, and to give us correct notions of that infinitely pure and holy Being who is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth.

their own fault that they did not enjoy it for ever; it was God's design they should, as appears from his reproof delivered to them by Samuel, when they asked for a king, 1 Sam. x, 18, &c.: and Gideon seemed to be well apprised of it, since, when they offered to make him king, and secure the kingdom to his posterity, he answered generously, "I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you; the Lord shall rule over you," Judg. viii, 23.

Their government was, therefore, neither a monarchy, aristocracy, nor democracy, but a theocracy,* as Josephus calls it; that is, God

* Though they were guided by God's peculiar direction, yet the form of their government was at first aristocratical, which continued to be the basis of it ever after. It commenced from the death of Jacob, who divided them into twelve tribes, appointing his sons, with the two sons of Joseph, to be rulers or princes over them. Gen. xlix. (See also Exod. vi, 4; Josh. xxii, 14.) No one tribe had superiority over another; for it is said, Gen. xlix, 16, "Dan shall judge his people," in the same manner "as one of the tribes of Israel." And hence it is, that, upon the death of Joshua, the people inquired of God, "who should go up for them against the Canaanites," Judg. i, 1. From this view we see the meaning of that important prophecy, Gen. xlix, 10, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah till Shiloh come;" not a *sceptre*, as most interpreters understand it, to rise in Judah's family some ages after the death of Jacob, which is against the propriety of all language; not a *dominion* to be exercised by Judah over all the other tribes, which it never obtained; but that the government now settled in each of the tribes, which would depart from the rest long before the coming of *Shiloh*, should remain with Judah till Shiloh came. Accordingly the Assyrian captivity was ruin to the ten

himself governed them immediately by the law that he had given them. As long as they observed it faithfully they lived in freedom and safety; as soon as they transgressed it to follow their own imaginations they fell into anarchy and confusion; which the Scripture shows, when, to account for the prodigious wickedness of the times, it says, "In those days there was no king in Israel, every one did what was right in his own eyes," Judg. xxi, 25. This confusion divided and weakened them, and made them become a prey to their enemies; till, recollecting themselves, they returned to God, and he sent them some deliverer. Thus they lived under the judges, relapsing time after time into idolatry and disobedience to the law of God, Judg. ii, 11, 22; and consequently into slavery and confusion, and as often repenting. At last they chose rather to have a master over them than to continue in freedom by faithfully observing the law of God.

Their liberty, reduced to these just bounds, consisted in a power to do every thing that was not forbidden by the law, without obligation to do any more than it commanded; or being

tribes; but the Babylonish captivity was only a seventy years' transportation of Judah into a foreign country, where they continued under the heads and rulers of their own; which privilege they enjoyed till after the death of Christ, and in some sort till the destruction of Jerusalem. See this proved at large in the third incomparable dissertation of the bishop of London. E. F.

subject to the will of any particular man but the fathers of families, who had great power over their servants and children at home. There were some Hebrews slaves to their brethren; and the law mentions two cases that reduced them to that condition: poverty, which obliged them to sell themselves, Lev. xxv, 39; and commission of theft, which they were not able to make amends for. Exod. xxii, 3. It appears that the second case comprehended debts likewise, by the example of the widow whose oil Elisha multiplied, that she might have enough to pay her creditors, and save her children from slavery. 2 Kings iv, 1. It is true, these Hebrew slaves might regain their freedom at the end of six years, that is, in the sabbatical year, Exod. xxi, 2; and if they were then not disposed to make use of this privilege they might claim their liberty, and that of their children, in the jubilee or fiftieth year. Lev. xxv, 40. It was recommended to them to use their brethren mildly, and rather to make slaves of strangers. We see how submissive their slaves were to them by the words of the Psalmist: "As the eyes of servants look unto the hands of their masters, even so our eyes wait upon the Lord our God," Psa. cxxiii, 2. From which we may collect that they often gave orders by signs, and that servants were to watch their least motions.

The Israelites had a power of life and death over their slaves, and this was then common to them with all nations. For slavery proceeded

from the right they acquired by conquest in war, (Just. de Jure Pers. § 3,) when, instead of killing their enemies, they chose rather to give them their lives that they might have the use of them; so it was supposed the conqueror always reserved the power of taking away their lives if they committed any thing that deserved it; that he acquired the same power over their children, because they had never been born if he had not spared the father, and that he transmitted this power when he alienated his slave. This is the foundation of the absolute power of masters; and they seldom abused it, for their interest obliged them to preserve their slaves, who made part of their riches: which is the reason of the law, that he should not be punished who had smote a servant, *if he continued alive a day or two after. He is his money*, Exod. xxi, 20, 21, says the law, to show that this loss was a sufficient punishment; and one may presume in this case that the master only intended his correction. But if the slave died under the strokes, it was to be supposed the master had a real design to kill him; for which the law declares him punishable; in which it was more merciful than the laws of other people, who did not make that distinction. The Romans, for more than five hundred years, had a power to put their slaves to death, to imprison their debtors upon default of payment, and to sell their own children three times over before they were out of their power; (Inst. de his qui sui vel al. § 2. Instit. quib. mod. jud. Part. § 6;)

and all by virtue of those wise laws of the twelve tables which they brought from Greece, at the time when the Jews were restored, after they returned from captivity, that is, about a thousand years after Moses.

As to the paternal power of the Hebrews, the law gave them leave to sell their daughters, Exod. xxi, 7 ; but the sale was a sort of marriage, as it was with the Romans, per coemptionem. We see, however, by a passage in Isaiah, that fathers sold their children to their creditors, Isa. l, 1; and in the time of Nehemiah the poor proposed to sell their children for something to live upon, and others bewailed themselves that they had not wherewith to redeem their children that were already in slavery. Nehem. v, 2, 5 They had the power of life and death over their children, since the wise man says, "Chasten thy son while there is hope, but persist not in it to cause him to die," Prov. xix, 18.—See the Hebrew, and the margin of our Bibles. Indeed they had not so much liberty as the Romans to make use of this severe privilege without the magistrate's knowledge. (Liv. lib. ii.) The law of God only permitted the father and mother, after they had tried all sorts of correction at home, to declare to the elders of the city that their son was stubborn and rebellious, and upon their complaint he was condemned to death and stoned. Deut. xxi, 19. The same law was practised at Athens, (Heliod. i,) and founded upon children's lives being derived from their parents,

and upon a supposition that none could be so unnatural as to put their children to death, unless they had committed some horrible crimes. Now the dread of this power was of great use in keeping children in perfect subjection.

We see but too many evils proceed from relaxing or rather taking away this paternal authority. Let a son be ever so young, as soon as he is married, or knows how to live without his father's assistance, he thinks he owes him no longer any thing but a little respect. Thence comes the infinite number of small families and people that live alone, or in boarding houses, where all are equally masters. Such young independent people, if they are rich, run into debauchery and ruin themselves. If they are poor, they turn vagabonds whom nobody cares to own, and are capable of all sorts of villany. Beside the corruption of manners, this independence may also occasion great disorders in the state; for it is much more difficult to rule a multitude of single, untractable men, than a few heads of families, each of whom was responsible for a great number of persons, and was commonly an old man that understood the laws.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Authority of old Men.

Not only fathers, but all old men, had great authority among the Israelites and all the people

of antiquity. They everywhere, in the beginning, chose judges for private affairs, and counsellors for the public, out of the oldest men.* Thence came the name of *senate* and *fathers* at Rome, and that great respect for old age which they borrowed from the Lacedemonians. Nothing is more conformable to nature. Youth is only fit for motion and action. Old age is qualified to instruct, advise, and command. "The glory of young men is their strength," says Solomon, "and the beauty of old men is their gray head," Prov. xx, 29. It is not likely that either study or good parts should make up for want of experience in a young man; but an old man, provided he have good natural sense, is wise by experience alone. All history proves that the best governed states were those where old men were in authority, and that the reigns of princes that were too young have been most unfortunate; which explains what the wise man says, "Wo to thee, O land, when thy king is a child!" Eccles. x, 16. And it is this wo that God threatens the Jews with, when he tells them, by Isaiah, that "he will give them children for princes."†

* Though this perhaps may be true of the original institution of the Jewish sanhedrim and Roman senate; yet it is certain, in process of time, neither consisted of the *oldest*. *Patres* and *seniores*, as with us *aldermen*, came to denote rank of dignity, not of age; as Selden observes, de Synedriis, lib. i, c. 14, p. 1092, and lib. ii, c. 9, § 4, p. 1423, ed. fol. E. F.

† Isaiah iii, 4. Europe well knows how miserably the affairs of a nation are conducted when the helm

In reality youth has neither patience nor foresight, is an enemy to all rule, and seeks nothing but pleasure and variety.

As soon as the Hebrews began to be formed into a people, they were governed by old men. When Moses returned into Egypt to promise them that God would set them at liberty, he assembled the elders together, Exod. iv, 29, and performed the miracles which were the proof of his mission before them. All the elders of Israel came to the feast that he made for Jethro his father-in-law. Exod. xviii, 12. When God thought fit to give council to relieve him in governing that great people, "Gather unto me," said he, "seventy men of the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be elders of the people and officers over them." So that they had already authority before the law was given, and the state had taken its form.* In the whole

of the state is confided to the hands of a *rash young man.*

* This is a proof that the power, which we before mentioned to be given by Jacob to the heads of tribes, took place immediately upon his death. From that time all applications and messages are not to the people but to the elders of Israel. Exod. iii, 16; xii, 21. The command of God, sent to the *house of Jacob*, and the *children of Israel* in Egypt, was delivered by Moses to the *elders of the people.* Exod. xix, 3, 7. (Bishop Sherlock's third Dissertation, pp. 304, 305.) Whether the number of these *elders* who made up the *sanhedrim* was just seventy or seventy-two, it is allowed it was first formed out of Jacob's children, who went into Egypt, and that it always represented the twelve tribes. (See Maldonat on Luc. xii, 1; Grot. in loc. and on Num. xii, 1; and Selden, de Synedriis, lib. ii, c. iv, 8.) E. F.

Scripture afterward, as often as mention is made of assemblies and public affairs, the elders are always put in the first place, and sometimes named alone.

Thence comes the expression in the Psalms, exhorting to praise God in "the congregation of the people" and in "the seat of the elders," Psa. cvii, 32, that is, the public council. These are the two parts that composed all the ancient commonwealths; *the assembly* (which the Greeks call *ecclesia* (εκκλησια) and the Latins *concio*) and *the senate*. The name of *elder* Πρεσβυτερος became afterward a title of dignity; and from this Greek word is derived the Latin name *presbyter;* and from the Latin word *senior*, elder, comes the name of *seigneur*, or lord.* We may judge of the age required by the Hebrews before a man was reckoned an elder, by those being called *young men* whose advice Rehoboam followed, 1 Kings xii, 8; for it is said they had been educated with him; from which it may be concluded they were about his age, who was then *forty-one*. 2 Chron. xii, 13.

CHAPTER XXII.

Their Administration of Justice.

JUSTICE was administered by two sorts of officers, *shophetim* and *shoterim*, established in

* It is sometimes curious to remark the progress of corruption in a word, πρεσβυτερος, *presbyter*, ancient

every city by the command which God gave by Moses.* It is certain the word *shophetim* signifies *judges:* as to *shoterim*, it is differently translated by the Vulgate:† but the Jewish tradition explains it of ministers of justice, as sheriffs, sergeants, or their guards, and other officers. These posts were given to the Levites, and there were six thousand of them in David's time. 1 Chron. xxiii, 4. Such were the judges that Jehoshaphat restored in each city, and to whom he gave such good instructions, 2 Chron. xix, 5, 6, 7; the Scripture adds, that he settled at Jerusalem a company of Levites, 2 Chron. v, 8, priests, and heads of families, to be judges in great causes. Deut. xvii, 8. It was the council of seventy elders, erected in the time of Moses, over which the high priest presided, and where all questions were decided that were too hard to be determined by the judges of smaller cities. The tradition of the Jews is, that these judges of particular cities were twenty-three in number; that they were all to meet to judge in capital cases, and that *three* were sufficient for causes relating to pecuniary

French *prestre*, modern French *prêtre*, and English *priest*. So Κυριου οικος, Kuriou oikos, *the house of the Lord*, contracted into Κυριοικ Kurioik, Scottish *kirk*, and English *church*.

* Deut. xvi, 18. שפטים ושטרים תתן לך

Judges and officers shalt thou make unto thee.

See the note at the end of this chapter.

† *Magistri*, masters; *præfecti*, prefects; *duces*, leaders or captains; *præcones*, heralds. Josh. iii, 2.

matters, and such as were of little consequence. (Sanhedr. c. i, s. 6, &c.) The chief judge was the king, according to the saying of the people to Samuel, "Give us a king to judge us." 1 Sam. viii, 5.

The place where the judges kept their court was the *gate of the city;* for as all the Israelites were husbandmen, who went out in the morning to their work, and came not in again till night, the city gate was the place where most people met. We must not wonder that they wrought in the fields, and abode in the cities. They were not such as the chief cities of our provinces, which can hardly be maintained by the produce of twenty or thirty leagues around them. They were only the habitations of as many labourers as were necessary to cultivate the ground nearest hand. Whence it came, that the land being full of inhabitants, their cities were very numerous. The tribe of Judah only reckoned a hundred and fifteen to their share, Josh. xv, 21, &c., when they took possession of it, beside those that were built afterward; and each city had villages dependent upon it.

They must certainly then be small, and very near one another, like common towns, well built and walled in; having, in other respects, every thing that is to be found in the country.

The public place for doing business among the Greeks and Romans was the *marketplace*, or exchange, for the same reason, because they were all merchants. In our ancestors' times

the vassals of each lord met in the court of his castle, and thence comes the expression, *the courts of princes*. As princes live more retired in the east, affairs are transacted at the gate of the seraglio; and this custom of *making one's court* at the palace gate has been practised ever since the times of the ancient kings of Persia, as we see by several passages in the book of Esther, chap. ii, 19; iii, 2, 3.

The gate of the city was the place for doing all public and private business ever since the times of the patriarchs. Abraham purchased his burying place in the presence of all those that entered into the gate of the city of Hebron. Gen. xxiii, 10, 18. When Hamor and his son Sichem, who ran away with Dinah, purposed to make an alliance with the Israelites, it was at the city gates that they spake of it to the people. Gen. xxxiv, 20. We see the manner of these public acts, with all the particulars, in the story of Ruth, chap. iv. Boaz, designing to marry her, was to have another person's right in her, who was a nearer relation, given up to him. For this purpose, he sits at the gate of Bethlehem, and, seeing this kinsman pass by, stops him: then he takes ten of the elders of the city, and after they were all sat down he explained his pretensions to them, and got the acknowledgment which he desired from his relation, with all the formality prescribed by the law; which was to pull off his shoe. He took not only the elders, but all the people for witnesses, which shows a great number of specta-

tors had got together: nor is it unlikely that curiosity made the people stop as they passed by. Their business was seldom in great haste; they were all acquainted and all related, so it was natural for them to be concerned about each other's affairs.

Perhaps they took these acts down in writing: but the Scripture does not take notice of any, except in Tobit and Jeremiah, a little before the destruction of Jerusalem. In Tobit there is mention made of a bond for money lent, of a marriage contract, and an instrument of covenants made upon the same account. Tob. vii, 14. In Jeremiah there is a contract upon a purchase. Jer. xxxii, 6–25. The law of Moses prescribes no writing except in case of divorce. Deut. xxiv, 1. But if they had not made use of any writings in those early times, their contracts would have been very safe, since they were made in so public a manner. If the kinsman of Boaz should have denied that he had given up his right, all the inhabitants of Bethlehem could have convicted him of a falsehood. Some of them were present at it, and others must have heard it immediately after.

It was a long time before the custom of putting private contracts into writing was introduced among the Romans, as appears by the verbal obligation which they called *stipulation*. They were not afraid of an action wanting proof, when they had pronounced a certain solemn form in the public marketplace among

all the people, and taken some particular citizens to witness it, who were of reputable condition and unblemished character. These transactions were full as public as those among us that are done in private houses before a public notary, who often knows neither party, or before the town clerk and two hack witnesses.

We may suppose the *gate* with the Hebrews was the same thing as the *square*, or *market-place*, with the Romans. The market for provisions was held at the city gate. Elisha foretold that victuals should be sold cheap the day after in the *gate* of Samaria. 2 Kings vii, 1. This gate had a square, which must have been a large one, because King Ahab assembled four hundred false prophets there. I suppose it was the same in other cities, and that these gates had some building with seats for the judges and elders; for it is said that Boaz went up to the gate and sat down there: and when David heard that Absalom was dead, he went up to the chamber over the gate to weep there. 2 Sam. xviii, 33. This chamber might be the place for private deliberations. Even in the temple of Jerusalem causes were tried at one of the gates, and the judges held their assizes there. Jer. xxvi, 10. After all these examples, it is not to be wondered that the Scripture uses the word *gate* so often to signify judgment, or the public council of each city, or the city itself, or the state; and that in the gospel *the gates of hell* signify the kingdom or power of the devil.

But as openly and fairly as we may think the Israelites transacted their affairs, it must not be imagined that they had no frauds and rogueries, unjust prosecutions, or false accusations. These are evils inseparable from the corruption of human nature; and the more spirit and vivacity men naturally have, the more are they subject to them: but these evils are more peculiarly the growth of great cities. When David fled from Jerusalem upon Absalom's rebellion, he represents "fury and discord going about day and night within the walls thereof, mischief and sorrow in the midst of it, and deceit and guile in her streets," Psa. lv, 10, &c. The prophets are full of such reproaches: only one may imagine these evils were less common than they are now, because there were fewer *lawyers* among them.

As temporal affairs, as well as spiritual, were governed by the law of God, there was no distinction of tribunals: the same judges decided cases of conscience, and determined civil or criminal causes. Thus they had occasion for but few different offices and officers, in comparison of what we see in the present day; for we account it an uncommon thing to be only a private man, and to have no other employment than improving our estate, or governing our family. Every body is desirous of some public post, to enjoy honours, prerogatives, and privileges: and employments are considered as trades which are a livelihood, or as titles of distinction. But if we were to examine what

public offices only are really necessary, and the business done in them, we should find that a very few persons would be sufficient to execute them, and have spare time enough besides for their private affairs.

This was the practice among all the people of antiquity, and especially the Hebrews. In Joshua's time we find but four sorts of public officers; *zikonim*, senators or elders; *rashim*, chiefs; *shophetim*, judges; and *shoterim*, inferior officers.* When the kingdom was more flourishing, in David's time, the following officers are mentioned: *six thousand Levites, officers and judges; the heads of tribes; heads of families*, 1 Chron. xxiii, 4; which are rather names of quality than employment; *the heads of twelve corps*, of twenty-four thousand men each; *the heads of one thousand*, and of a hundred men; *the heads over those that tenanted the king's demesnes*, that is, his lands and cattle. I call those *heads* here whom the Hebrew calls *sirim*, and the Latin *principes*.†

* ZIKONIM, from זקן *to grow old*, were the *elders* of the people, something like our *eldermen*, or *aldermen*.

RASHIM, from ראש *to be head* or *chief*, probably military *chiefs* or captains.

SHOPHETIM, from שפט *to discern, judge, determine*, judges in civil matters; hence the Carthagenian *sufetes*.

SHOTERIM, from שטר *a side* or *part*, subordinate magistrates who appear to have been *deputies* to the *shophetim*. See Josh. xxiv, 1.

† SARIM, from שר *to direct, rule*, and *regulate*, pro-

But I must observe, once for all, that it is impossible to express the titles of officers and dignities in another language. Thus, neither the Greek nor Latin versions give us a just idea of the Chaldean employments, taken notice of in Daniel iii, 3; Ezekiel xxiii, 23; and others.

Besides, among David's officers they reckon his eunuchs or domestic servants; for throughout the Scripture the word *eunuch* is often taken for what we call a *valet-de-chambre*, or footman; or, in general, for any servant employed about the king's person, without signifying any personal imperfection. *Captains over fifty men* are likewise mentioned in other places; but we find nothing of *captains over tens* except in the law. Most of these posts are military; and the rest are but a trifle, if one considers the multitude of people, and the extent of David's kingdom.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Their Wars.

After the administration of justice, we must speak of war. There was not an Israelite that did not carry arms, the priests and Levites not excepted. Benaiah the priest, son of Jehoiada, was one of the most renowned for bravery in David's army, 2 Sam. xxiii, 20; 1 Kings ii, 35;

bably military officers over larger and smaller companies of men; captains over thousands, hundreds, &c. See 1 Chron. xxviii, 1.

and was general of Solomon's troops in the room of Joab. All were reckoned soldiers that were of age for service, and that was at twenty years old and upward. Num. i, 3, 22. They were like the militia in some countries, always ready to assemble at the first notice. The difference is, that with *us* all ecclesiastics are forbidden the use of arms, and that we have moreover an infinite number of people unfit for war; lawyers, receivers of the king's revenues, citizens, merchants, and tradesmen: whereas, *they* were all husbandmen and shepherds, inured from their childhood to labour and fatigue. 2 Chron. viii, 9. Nor is it improbable that they used them to handle arms, at least from the time of David and Solomon. Thus, at Rome, all the citizens of such an age were obliged to serve a certain number of campaigns, when they were commanded: from whence it comes that they did not use the expression of *levying* troops, but *choosing* (Habere delectum civis et peregrini. Cic.) them, because they had always a great many more than they wanted.* It was no difficult thing for the Israelites to support their armies; the country was so small, and the enemy so near, that they often came back to

* And this is what our Lord refers to in the gospel, when he so often says, "Many are called, but few chosen." The great mass of the people was *called together*, and a *choice* was made of those who were most fit for service. The rest returned to their respective occupations, and those on whom the choice fell were employed in military duty. But both parties were equally valuable, and necessary to the safety and welfare of the state.

lodge at home, or had but one or two days' march.

Their arms were nearly the same with those of the Greeks and Romans: swords, bows and arrows, javelins and spears, that is to say, half pikes; for we must not imagine the ancients had hand spears, such as our ancient cavalry used. Their swords were broad, and hung upon their thigh. Psa. xlv, 3; Cant. iii, 8. They made use of slings, as we may see in the men of Gibeah in Benjamin, who could have slung to a hair's breadth: and the same Gibeonites fought alike with both hands. Judg. xx, 16. Saul commonly held a javelin in his hand. 1 Sam. xviii, 10; and xix, 9. Homer represents his heroes, and the Romans, Quirinus and their other gods, in the same manner. But they did not wear any arms, except upon duty, not so much as a sword. When David ordered his men to march against Nabal, he first bids them "gird on their swords," 1 Sam. xxv, 13; though they lived in a state of continual alarm. The custom of always wearing a sword by the side was peculiar to the Gauls and Germans.

For defensive arms they carried shields, bucklers, helmets, armour for the back and breast, and sometimes greaves to cover the legs. We see an instance of a complete suit of armour in that of Goliah, which was all brass, 1 Sam. xvii, 5, 6, 38; like that of the Greeks in Homer. But it looks as if these arms were scarce among the Israelites at that time, since King Saul offered to lend David

his. They became common afterward, and Uzziah had sufficient to furnish all his troops, which were more than three hundred thousand men. 2 Chron. xxvi, 13–15. The same king erected machines upon the towers on the walls of Jerusalem to throw great stones and arrows, and fortified several cities as most other kings did. Thus war was carried on so early, almost in the same manner as it was in later times, before the invention of fire arms.

The Israelites had only infantry at first, and that was also the chief strength of the Greeks and Romans. Cavalry is not so necessary* in hot countries, where they can always travel dry-shod: neither can they be of much use in mountains; but they are of great advantage in cold climates where the roads are dirty, and to make long marches over plains that are either

* The neglect of cavalry among the Israelites has afforded to an excellent writer a strong internal proof of that people being under the immediate guidance of a supernatural power. The prohibition is expressed, Deut. xvii, "He" (that is, whoever shall be king of Israel) "shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt." Accordingly they prospered or were defeated as they obeyed or transgressed this divine command; which, as he observes, it is *impossible to justify by the measures of human prudence.* (See Bishop Sherlock's fourth Dissertat.) Dr. Warburton, pursuing the same argument, observes, with our author, that even upon *political reasons* the Jews might be justified in the disuse of cavalry in *defence* of their country, but not in *conquering* it from a warlike people who abounded in horses. Here at least the exertion of an extraordinary providence was wonderfully conspicuous. (See Div. Leg. vol. ii, book iv, sec. 5.) E. F.

barren or thinly inhabited, as in Poland and Tartary.

But they had cavalry under their kings; and the first sign of Absalom's revolt was raising horses and chariots; and yet, when he had lost the battle, he got upon a mule to make his escape. 2 Sam. xviii, 9. Solomon, who could bear any expense, sent for a vast number of horses out of Egypt, and kept forty thousand of them, with twelve thousand chariots. 1 Kings iv, 26; 2 Chron. ix, 25. Their chariots of war were, probably, like those of the Greeks, small, with two wheels, that would carry one or two men standing upright or leaning upon the forepart. The succeeding kings, who could not support the great expense that Solomon did, sent from time to time for succours to Egypt, and upon these occasions there is always mention made of horses. The Jews must have had no cavalry in Hezekiah's time, by Rabshakeh's insolence in saying to them, "Come into my master's service, the king of Assyria, and I will deliver thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon them."*

* 2 Kings xviii, 23. The above is a literal translation from the Vulgate, and differs considerably in the first clause from that in the English version. The word התערב which we translate *give pledges*, and the Vulgate *transite*, passover, will have this latter meaning by the simple transposition of the two last letters ב and ר thus: התעבר; and so St. Jerome must have read it in his Hebrew copy. As, thus understood, the words of Rabshakeh convey a strong solicitation to mutiny and defection, it is most likely that this is the true original reading.

The Scripture informs us of no particulars relating to their military evolutions, the form of their battalions, or general order of battle, though it often speaks of troops in battle array ; but for the arts of encamping and marching in good order, the journey through the wilderness is a noble example of it. The number of this prodigious army was known by exact lists ; each man was set down in his tribe, each tribe in its quarter under one of the four heads, according to the order of birthright among the patriarchs, and the quality of their mothers. Num. i, 2, &c. They marched, by sound of trumpet, always in the same order ; and always quartered in the same situation about the tabernacle of the covenant, which was the centre of the camp. They took all proper care for keeping their quarters clean, Num. v, 2, &c. ; Deut. xxiii, 10, 11, &c. : which was very necessary in so warm a country, and hard to be done in so vast a multitude. In short, we see that the way of encamping, and every thing else that we admire with so much reason in the Greeks and Romans, was taken from the ancient models of the eastern people. The Hebrews set a high value upon their booty and spoils, as all the nations of antiquity did : they were marks of honour.

From Joshua's time to the kings the command of armies belonged to those whom the people chose, or God raised up in an extraordinary manner, as Othniel, Barak, and Gideon ; but none were subject to them but the country or

the people that chose them, or to whom God gave them for deliverers. The rest of the people, abusing their liberty, often exposed themselves to the insults of their enemies: which made them ask for a king, not only to do them justice, but also to conduct their armies, and make war for them. 1 Sam. viii, 20. From that time, too, they were in much more safety. The king called the people together when he judged it convenient, and always kept up a great number of forces. It is observed, in the beginning of Saul's reign, that he maintained three thousand men. 1 Sam. xiii, 2. David had twelve bodies of four and twenty thousand each, who served monthly by turns. Jehoshaphat had not a third part of David's kingdom, and yet he had eleven hundred and sixty thousand fighting men in his service, without reckoning garrisons. 1 Chron. xxvii, 1, &c.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Their Kings.

The king had the power of life and death, and could put criminals to death without the formality of justice. David made use of this prerogative in the case of him who boasted that he had killed Saul, and of those that murdered Ishbosheth. 2 Sam. i, 15; iv, 12. The Roman emperors possessed a similar power. The kings of Israel levied tribute upon the Israelites themselves, for Saul promises that all the family

of the man that would fight Goliah should be exempted from it, 1 Sam. xvii, 25; and it appears that Solomon had laid excessive taxes upon them by the complaints made to Rehoboam. 1 Kings xii, 14. The power of kings was in other respects very much limited: they were obliged to keep the law as well as private men; they could neither add to nor diminish it, and there is no instance of any of them making so much as one new law. Their way of living at home was very plain, as we may see by the description that Samuel gave of their manners to put the people out of conceit with them, 1 Sam. viii, 10–18: he allows them only women for household affairs; yet they had a great attendance when they appeared in public. Among the signs of Absalom's rebellion, the Scripture reckons fifty men that ran before him, 2 Sam. xv, 1; and the same is said of his brother Adonijah, 1 Kings i, 5.

The kings lived sparingly as well as private people: the difference was, they had more land and herds. When David's riches are reckoned up, indeed, his treasures of gold and silver are put into the account; but so are his tillage and vineyards, his stores of wine and oil, his plantations of olive and fig trees, his herds and kine, camels, asses, and sheep. 1 Chron. xxvii, 25, &c. Thus Homer describes the riches of Ulysses; he says he had twelve great herds of each sort of cattle upon the continent, beside what he had in his island. (Odyss. xiv, v. 100.) They took out of this great stock what was

necessary to maintain their household. There were in Solomon's time twelve overseers distributed through the land of Israel, who, each in his turn, sent monthly provisions for the table, 1 Kings iv, 7, which for one day were "thirty measures of fine flour, and threescore measures of meal, ten fat oxen, and twenty out of the pastures, and a hundred sheep, beside harts, and roebucks, and fallow deer, and fatted fowl," 1 Kings iv, 22, &c., enough to feed at least five thousand people. As this provision was the product of the country itself, there was no need to buy any thing, nor any want of purveyors, treasurers, or comptrollers, nor of that vast number of officers, which eat up great lords; so that gold and silver continued laid up, or served for its most natural use, to be manufactured into plate and household ornaments.

Hence came the vast riches of David and Solomon. 1 Chron. xxix. David prepared all that was necessary for building the temple, the value of which came to a *hundred and eight thousand* talents of gold, and a *million and ten thousand* talents of silver;* that is, about *five hundred and thirty-four millions, eight hundred and fifty-nine thousand, seven hundred and eighty-four pounds sterling.* Besides, he caused great treasures to be laid up in his sepulchre. Solomon built a great number of palaces, fortified several cities, and finished several public works. All the plate and furniture of his house at Mount

* 1 Chron. xxii, 14. In the original only one hundred thousand talents of gold.

Libanus was of pure gold; beside two hundred golden targets, each of which was worth about *five hundred and ninety-six pounds*, or *a hundred and nineteen thousand two hundred pounds sterling* in all; and three hundred bucklers, worth *two hundred and seventy-five pounds* apiece; which amounts to about *eighty-two thousand five hundred pounds sterling*.*

His revenues, too, were great. Commerce alone brought him in every year *six hundred and sixty-six* talents of gold; which make *one million, nine hundred and seventy thousand, eight hundred and thirty-four pounds sterling*. He made the Israelites pay tribute, and all foreigners that were under his dominion, the Hivites, the Amorites, and all the other ancient inhabitants of the land of Israel, the Idumeans, great part of Arabia, and all Syria: for his empire extended from the borders of Egypt to Euphrates; and all the countries that were so rich sent him every year vessels of gold and silver, cloth, arms, perfumes, horses, and mules. These reflections may serve to make one understand how Crœsus came by his riches in a kingdom about the same size as that of Solomon. Silver and gold were not yet dispersed through the world. There was but little in Greece, none in Italy and the rest of Europe, except Spain, where they had some mines.

Let us stand still a little to consider the pros-

* See the proper method of calculating the Hebrew talent, and the value of the shields, so as to bring them into English money, part iv, in fine.

perity of Solomon, for it is an agreeable contemplation. If we were to read all history through, we should not find one example of such a perfect conjunction of all the good things that are to be enjoyed in this world: a young prince in the flower of his age, of a handsome person, of great parts, learning, and accomplishments; in such reputation for wisdom that *all the earth sought to hear him*, 1 Kings x, 24; and a queen came in person from a great distance to converse with him. 1 Kings x, 1. He was master of a large kingdom, which was in a state of profound peace, inhabited the finest country in the world, had the most magnificent palaces, and numerous attendants; was loaded with riches, swimming in pleasures, denying himself nothing, as he owns, and employing all his vast genius to satisfy his desires. Eccles. ii, 10. This we should call a happy man, according to our natural ideas. Yet it is certain he was not so, because he was not *contented*. He himself says that he found pleasure and joy were only illusion, and that *all his labour was but vanity and vexation of spirit*. Eccles. v, 11.

By this prosperity of Solomon and his people, God gave two important lessons to mankind at the same time. First, he shows his faithfulness in accomplishing his promises, by giving the Israelites so plentifully of all the good things which he had promised their fathers in the possession of this land; that no one hereafter might doubt of his power to reward those that adhere to him and keep his commandments. Men

that applied themselves so entirely to earthly things stood in need of such an earnest, to make them believe they should hereafter enjoy an invisible happiness and the recompense of another life. But besides, by granting the Israelites the possession of these earthly goods, and profusely heaping on them whatever might contribute to the happiness of this life, God has given all men an opportunity of seeing them in a true light, and conceiving higher hopes. For who under the sun can pretend to be happy if Solomon was not? Who can doubt that whatever happens in this world is vanity, after *he* has confessed it? Does not this example show us plainly that worldly goods are not only vain, but dangerous? not only incapable of satisfying the heart of man, but likely to corrupt it? What reason have *we* to flatter ourselves that we shall make better use of them than a people so dear to God, and so well instructed in their duty? and who seem to have had a better right to this sort of happiness, since it was proposed to them as a reward. What presumption would it be to think ourselves more capable of resisting pleasures than the wise Solomon? He gave himself up so much to the love of women that he had a thousand of them, though a multiplicity was absolutely forbidden by the law of God, Deut. xvii, 17; and his complaisance to them carried him even to idolatry. His subjects followed his bad example; and after his reign the manners of the Israelites grew worse and worse: they had

attained their highest pitch of earthly felicity, and now began to decline.

The division of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah still augmented the evil. The corruption was much the greatest in Israel, where idolatry always prevailed, which is the fountain of all sorts of wickedness : rebellion and treason were common there. Wisd. xiv, 27. In Judah the crown never went out of the family of David : there were several pious kings in it. The priests and Levites, who retired thither, preserved the tradition of the true religion, and a more pure practice of the law.

In these latter times, the law being despised, they had frequent intercourse with strangers, chiefly to procure succours in war : and this is the reason of their being so frequently reproached by the prophets with their want of trust in God. The strangers whose alliance they courted most were the Assyrians and Egyptians, the two most powerful nations of those times. To please them they imitated their customs and idolatry ; and the ruin of the Israelites followed the fortune of these nations when Egypt fell and Assyria got the superiority.

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

The Jews—Their Captivity.

What has already been noted appeared to me the most remarkable in the manners of the Israelites, while they lived at full liberty in their own country, without mixing with strangers, or being subject to infidels. Let us now take a view of their last state, from the Babylonish captivity to their entire dispersion. Though they were still the same people, and their manners the same in the main, there was however a great alteration in both.

First, they are called only *Jews* in these later times, because, in reality, there was no kingdom but that of Judah subsisting. Samaria had been destroyed, and Salmanasar had taken the ten tribes captive which bore the name of Israel above a hundred years before the ruin of Jerusalem. And though the kingdom of Judah comprehended the two whole tribes of Benjamin and Levi, and many particular persons of all the rest, whom a religious zeal had brought thither after Jeroboam's schism; all was confounded in the name of Judea and Jews, and so they were usually called before the captivity. 2 Kings xvi, 6.

As the kingdom manifestly tended to its ruin after the death of Josiah, great numbers of Jews

were dispersed on all sides, and retired to the Ammonites, Moabites, Idumeans, and other neighbouring people. Jer. xli, 10. The Chaldeans carried away captive the most considerable of those who dwelt at Jerusalem when it was taken, and left none but the poorer sort to till the ground: this remnant, too, went into Egypt a little while after. Jer. xliii, 1–7.

As to those that were carried to Babylon, they were servants to the king and his sons, as the Scripture tells us: for such was the law of war at that time. 2 Chron. xxxvi, 20. All that were taken in arms, all the inhabitants of a town carried by storm, or surrendered at discretion, and of the adjacent country which depended upon it, were slaves to the conquerors. They were either the property of the public, or that particular person that had taken them, according to the laws concerning the acquisition or division of spoil then subsisting in each country. Thus, at the taking of Troy, all that remained alive were made slaves, not excepting Queen Hecuba and the princesses her daughters.

The Greek and Roman history is full of such examples; the Romans loaded those kings with chains that resisted obstinately; or put them to death after they had made them appear at their triumph. They sold the common people by auction, and divided their lands among their own citizens, whom they sent to establish colonies there: which was the certain way to secure their conquests. Neither the Jews nor Israelites were so hardly used by the Assyrians.

Some had great liberty allowed them, as Tobit by King Enemessar; and there were some rich among them, as Tobit himself, his kinsman Raguel, and his friend Gabael, Tobit i, 14; and at Babylon Joachim, Susanna's husband. (Hist. of Susanna.) It appears likewise by the story of Susanna, that the Jews, notwithstanding their captivity, had the exercise of their laws, and the power to appoint judges of life and death.

However, it was impossible but this mingling with strangers should cause some change in their manners, since one of their chief maxims was to separate themselves from all other nations. Many were prevailed upon to worship idols, eat forbidden food, and marry wives from among strangers, and all conformed to their masters in things indifferent, one of which was their language. Thus, during the seventy years that the captivity lasted, they forgot Hebrew, and none but the learned understood it, as it is now with the Latin among us. Their vulgar tongue was the Syriac or Chaldee, such as that in which a large portion of Daniel and Ezra are written, and the *Targums* or paraphrases upon Scripture that were composed afterward, that the people might understand it. They changed their letters too, and instead of the old ones, which the Samaritans have preserved, took the Chaldean, which we erroneously call the Hebrew.

CHAPTER II.

The Return of the Jews, and their State under the Persians.

When Cyrus gave them their liberty, with leave to go back into Judea and rebuild the temple, they did not *all* return, nor at *one time*. There was a great number that stayed at Babylon and in all places where they were settled: and they that came back were not all Jews: some few of the ten tribes joined themselves to them, and yet they made but a small number altogether. The first, that Zerubbabel conducted, did not amount to fifty thousand, with the servants that attended them ;* and one may see their poverty by the small number of their servants and cattle. What comparison is there between fifty thousand souls, and what there must have been in the time of Jehoshaphat to make up twelve hundred thousand fighting men? There came, besides, with Ezra about fifteen hundred, Ezra viii, 1–14, and we may suppose there were several other companies.

They did what they could to discover their former inheritances, and preserve each family's share. Upon this account Ezra collected all the genealogies that are at the beginning of the Chronicles, where he chiefly enlarges upon the three tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin; and

* The whole number was as follows: the people, 42,360; male and female servants, 7,337; male and female singers, 200; horses, 736; mules, 245; camels, 435; asses, 6,720. Ezra ii, 64–67.

carefully sets down their habitations. To people Jerusalem, they received all that would come and settle there, which confounded, no doubt, the order of their shares. Neh. xi, 3. Besides, it was just that such as were present should take possession of their lands who had no mind to return, or perhaps were not in being. So, in the later times, Joseph dwelt at Nazareth in Galilee, though his family was originally of Bethlehem: and Anna the prophetess lived at Jerusalem. But still they knew what tribe they were of, and carefully preserved their genealogies, as we see by Joseph's, who was a poor artificer. They likewise carefully distinguished the true Israelites from strangers that had been admitted into their society,* whom they called *geiores* in their own tongue, and *proselytes* in Greek. (African Apud. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. i, c. 7.)

Thus one of their first concerns, after the restoration, was to separate themselves from strangers, and to cause the prohibition of the

* Two sorts of men joined themselves to the Israelites when they went out of Egypt: one sort were native Egyptians, called by the Septuagint *αυτοχθονες, those born in the land;* the others were a mixed multitude, who are termed by the Septuagint *γειωραις*, Exod. xii, 19, from גר *gur*, a stranger. These were extraneous persons among the Egyptians, who took the land to till at a certain rent: such were the Jews before they went up out of Egypt. Both these sorts of men the Scripture comprehends under the denomination of a *mixed multitude*, Exod. xiii, 38. See Valesius' Notes on Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. i, c. 7. E. F. & A. C.

law, relating to marriages with infidels, to be observed, Ezra ix, 1, &c.; which they extended to nations not specified in the law; namely, to the people of Azotus, who were part of the Philistines; to the Egyptians, Ammonites, and Moabites. The evils that the Jews were sensible they had received from these marriages, since the bad example of Solomon, inclined the wise men to interpret the law in this sense, and extend it rather beyond the import of the letter, that they might more effectually fulfil the intention of it. The priests were most strict in observing these prohibitions; they married none but women of their own tribe, and Josephus has informed us of the precautions used about it even in his time. (Cont. App. l. i, c. 7, p. 978. Whiston's edition.) In general the Jews were never so faithful to God; and, after they returned from captivity, we never hear idolatry once mentioned among them: so much were they struck with that severe punishment, and the accomplishment of the prophecies that threatened them with it. Indeed, apostates were entirely at liberty to stay among the infidels, so that there appeared none but such as were really Jews.

Under the first kings of Persia they were still very weak, envied by the strangers their neighbours, especially the Samaritans, exposed to their insults and calamities, and in danger of having their throats cut upon the least signification of the king's pleasure; as we see by the cruel edict that Haman obtained against them, from the

effects of which they were saved by Queen Esther, iii, iv, v. They could not finish the rebuilding of the temple till twenty years after their first coming back, nor raise the walls of Jerusalem again under sixty years more: so they were fourscore years in renewing the whole. The country must have been very poor, since Herodotus, who lived at that time, comprehends Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, and the Isle of Cyprus, under one single government, that paid Darius but three hundred and fifty talents tribute, (Herod. lib. iii, p. 226,) which was no more than was paid by one of the least provinces; whereas that of Babylon alone paid a thousand. This revenue was doubled in the time of the Romans for Palestine alone; it brought in to Herod and his sons seven hundred and sixty talents, which, to compute by the smaller talent, amount to about sixty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling. (Joseph. Bell. Jud. l. ii, c. 6, p. 766.)

By little and little the Jews were established again, and during the reign of the Persians they lived under their own laws, in the form of a commonwealth, governed by the high priest and the council of seventy-two elders. The country was repeopled, the towns new built, and the lands better cultivated than ever. Plenty was seen again, and there was such a profound peace and tranquillity, that, for nearly three hundred years, there happened no commotions, nor any thing that makes the common subject of histories; and thence proceeds that great

void that we find between the time of Nehemiah and the Maccabees. The temple was honoured even by strangers, who visited it and brought offerings thither. (Philo. Leg.) In short, the prosperity of the Jews was so great after their return that the prophets, in foretelling it, have left us the most magnificent types of the Messiah's reign.*

The Greeks began then to be acquainted with the Jews in Egpyt and Syria, whither they so often travelled; and they made great use of this correspondence, if we may believe the most ancient Christian authors, as Justin Martyr and Clemens of Alexandria; for they assure us that the Greek poets, lawgivers, and philosophers learned the best part of their doctrine from the Jews. Indeed Solon travelled into Egypt, and the laws that he gave to the Athenians were very like those of Moses. Pythagoras had been long in Egypt, and went to Babylon in the time of Cambyses: he had, therefore, seen the Jews, and might have conversed with them. Plato studied many years in Egypt, and makes Socrates speak so many excellent things, founded upon the principles taught by Moses, that he may justly be supposed to have known something of them.

The best things which Plato teaches in his laws and commonwealth, the Jews really prac-

* Several prophecies relative to this time of peace and prosperity have been applied by commentators to the days of the Messiah *exclusively*. This should be carefully avoided.

tised ; as living by one's own industry, without luxury, without ambition, without having it in our power to undo ourselves or grow too rich, esteeming justice the greatest of all blessings, and avoiding all novelty and change. In the persons of Moses, David, and Solomon, we discover examples of the wise man whom he wished for to govern a state and make it happy, which he scarcely hoped would ever come to pass. He mentions certain traditions of venerable antiquity in several places, without supporting them with any proof, relating to the judgment of mankind after death, and the state of the other life, which are manifestly doctrines of the true religion. (Plato de Repub. vi, et x, in fine.) If Plato and the other Greeks had not learned these truths immediately from the Jews, they had them at least from other people of the east, who, being nearer the origin of mankind, and having writings more ancient than the Greeks, had preserved many more traditions of the first men, though obscured and involved in fables.

CHAPTER III.

The State of the Jews under the Macedonians.

The conquests of Alexander made the Jews much better known to the Greeks, to whom they became subject. Josephus brings proofs of it from the testimony of Clearchus, a disciple of

Aristotle, and Hecatæus the Abderite. (Joseph. cont. App. i, 22, 23, ii, 4.) They continued to live according to their own laws, under the protection of the Macedonian kings, as they had done under the Persians; but as their country lay between Syria and Egypt, they sometimes obeyed the king of one of those nations, and sometimes the king of the other, as they were strongest; and they were well or ill used by them according to the humour or interest of their kings, or the credit of their enemies. Alexander the Great, being convinced of their affection and fidelity, gave them the province of Samaria, and exempted it from tribute; and when he built Alexandria, settled some Jews in it, granting them the same privileges as the other citizens, till at last they also were called Macedonians. (Joseph. Ant. xii, 1, et cont. App. l. ii, c. 2.) Indeed, the first of the Ptolemies, having taken Jerusalem by surprise, carried great numbers of the Jews captives into Egypt, who were spread as far as Cyrene. But afterward, finding how religious they were, and faithful to their oaths, he put some of them into his garrison, and treated them so well, that it drew many more into that country. (Joseph. Ant. xii, 2.) It is said that his son Philadelphus redeemed all the Jews that were slaves in his dominions, and sent great presents to Jerusalem to procure that translation which he got made of their law.*

* See Aristæus' Hist. of the Septuagint. Notwithstanding the testimony of Josephus, Aristæus, and

They were also favoured by several kings of Syria. Seleucus Nicanor gave them the right of citizens in the cities which he built in Asia Minor and Cœlo-Syria, and even in Antioch his capital, with privileges that they also enjoyed under the Romans. (Joseph. Ant. xii, 3.) Antiochus the Great, having received signal services from the Jews, granted considerable favours and immunities to the city of Jerusalem; and to secure Lydia and Phrygia, which were not quite sound in their allegiance, he established colonies of Jews there, giving them lands to cultivate and build on.

The first privilege that the Jews always asked upon these occasions was liberty to exercise their religion and observe their law. But as for the rest, they could not avoid learning many Grecian customs, as they had Chaldean and others, and particularly the Greek tongue, which was then become common throughout all the east, and continued so as long as the Roman empire lasted there. Thence it was that many took Greek names, as Aristobulus, Philon, Andreas, and Philippus; or Hebrew names disguised with Greek terminations, as Jason for Jesus, Simon for Simeon, Hierosolyma for Jerusalem.

It was probably about this time that the

several of the primitive fathers, the history of the Greek translation of the Scriptures, by the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, is now considered either a *fable* or *truth* so disguised as to be no longer perceptible.

Jews passed the seas, and settled in Europe. For they that understood the Greek tongue, and had resided among that people in Asia, Syria, and Egypt, might easily live in any part of the Grecian empire, even in Macedonia and Achaia, according as they found it more convenient, or they enjoyed greater liberty. Thus St. Paul found great numbers of them in all the cities of Greece when he went to preach the gospel there, about two hundred and fifty years after the time of Antiochus the Great. These Jews were half Greeks, whom the eastern Jews called *Hellenists;* and they gave the Gentiles the name of *Hellenes*, which properly signifies Greeks; whence it comes that in St. Paul's epistles Greek and Gentile signify the same thing. Rom. i, 16; ii, 10, &c.

The Jews could not be so mixed with the Greeks, without the latter, who were very curious at that time, getting some knowledge of their religion and laws, especially after the translation of the sacred books. Their wise men and true philosophers held them in great esteem, as we may learn by what Strabo wrote about them long after. (Strabo, lib. xvi.) All admired the magnificence of their temple and exact order of their ceremonies. Agrippa himself, son-in-law of Augustus, was astonished at it. But most of the Greeks at that time, I mean in the reign of the Macedonians, were not capable of relishing the customs and maxims of the Jews. They were too grave for the people whom the Asiatic luxury had made

effeminate, and whose sole employment was in trifles.* There were, indeed, a great number of philosophers; but most of them contented themselves with only discoursing upon virtue, and exercising themselves in disputation. All the rest of the Greeks were possessed with curiosity and a fondness for *polite literature:* some applied themselves to rhetoric, others to poetry and music. Painters, sculptors, and architects were in great repute. Others spent all their time in gymnastic exercises, to form their bodies and make them good wrestlers. Others studied geometry, astronomy, and natural philosophy. There were everywhere virtuosi, connoisseurs, curious and idle people of all sorts.

The manners of the Romans were at that time much more solid.† They applied themselves to nothing but agriculture, the knowledge of the laws and war, and willingly left the glory of excelling in curious arts and sciences to the Greeks; that they might have the more time to extend their conquests, and attend the government of their subjects, making politics, as Virgil says,‡ their principal concern. The

* Ut primum positis nugari Græcia bellis
Cœpit, &c.

Hor. l. ii, ep. i, 93.

† Romæ dulce diu fuit et solenne reclusâ
Mane domo vigilare, &c.

Hor. l. ii, ep. i, 103.

‡ Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra, &c.

Æneid vi, 847.

Jews were still a great deal more serious, as they made morality and the service of God their chief study. We have a good example of it in the book of Ecclesiasticus, written about the same time. Yet this was the reason that the Greeks looked upon them as an ignorant people, seeing they would learn nothing but their own law. (Joseph. cont. App. l. i, c. 4, et l. ii, c. 6; Orig. cont. Cels. l. iv.) They called them *barbarians*, as they did all nations that were not Greeks, and despised them more than any other strangers, upon account of their religion, which appeared to them austere and absurd. (Judæorum mos tristis absurdusque.—*Tacit.* Hist. v, init.) They saw them refrain from debauchery, not out of frugality and policy, but from a principle of conscience: this appeared to them too strict, and they were particularly offended at their Sabbaths, their fasts, and distinction of meats. They accounted them enemies to all mankind. *They live separate from every body else*, says a Greek philosopher, *having nothing common with us, neither altar, offerings, prayers, nor sacrifices. They are at a greater distance from us than the inhabitants of Susa, Bactria, and India.* (Philostr. Vit. Apol. lib. v, c. 11.)

We may add to this, that the fear of idolatry made the Jews reject sculpture and painting, (which arts the Greeks held in much esteem,) as useless, ridiculous pieces of workmanship, and the fruits of idleness; (Orig. cont. Cels. l. iv;) which is the reason that idols are so

often called *vanity* in Scripture, to show that they are vain things, that have only a deceitful outside, and serve to no manner of good purpose. Isa. xliv, 10; Jer. x, 15. They are also called an *abomination*, Wisdom xiii, 13–19, because they cannot be sufficiently detested when we consider the stupidity that attributes the incommunicable name of God to them. For the same reason the Jews could not hear without horror the impious fables with which the Greek poets were filled. Thus they drew upon themselves the hatred of the grammarians, whose profession it was to explain them; and of the rhapsodists, who made a trade of singing their heroic poems in public; and of the actors of tragedies and comedies, and of all others whose livelihood depended upon poetry and false theology.

The Jews, indeed, made it a rule not to laugh at other nations, nor to say any thing disrespectful of their gods; (Joseph. cont. App.;) but it was scarce possible that some word of contempt should not escape from them. Now, how angry must a Greek grammarian have been, if he had heard a Jew repeat a passage out of the prophets against idols; if he had heard him assert that Homer was a false prophet and impostor, or ridicule the absurdities that occur in the genealogies, the amours, and crimes of their gods? How could they bear any one's showing an abhorrence to the scandalous impurities of the theatre, and the abominable ceremonies of Bacchus and Ceres: in

a word, to hear him maintain that the God of the Jews was the only true God, and that *they* only, of all the people upon earth, were in possession of the true religion and morality? They despised them the more for not knowing how to make learned harangues, or dispute in form; and because, for a proof of these great truths, they chiefly alleged facts, that is to say, the great miracles that God had wrought in the sight of their fathers. Now, the common people among the Greeks did not make any distinction between those miracles and the prodigies which they also related in their fables; and philosophers thought them impossible, because they only reasoned from the laws of nature, which they held to be absolutely fixed and unalterable. (Galen de usu Partium.)

This being the disposition of the Greeks, they listened the more eagerly to the calumnies of the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and other enemies of the Jews. And thence proceeded those impertinent stories that Tacitus tells us so gravely, (Hist. l. v, init.,) when he is explaining the origin of the Jews, and has a mind to act the learned historian; and which are to be met with likewise in Justin, who had had the same information. (Justini Hist. lib. xxxvi, c. 2, 3.) Strabo does not seem to know much more of the matter, though he treats it more sensibly. (Lib. xvi.)

But beside these slanders, which might easily have been overlooked, the Greeks proceeded to violence and persecution. Thus Ptolemy Phi-

lopater, after he had lost the battle of Raphia, discharged his wrath upon the Jews: and his son Epiphanes, being provoked at their not letting him go into the sanctuary, would have them exposed to elephants, as it is related in the Maccabees. Under Seleucus Philopater, king of Syria, Heliodorus came to plunder the sacred treasure, and nothing but a miracle prevented his doing it. 2 Macc. iii, 7, &c. At last, under Antiochus Epiphanes, began the greatest persecution they ever suffered, and which is not inferior to any that the Christians have endured since. 1 Macc. i, &c. Those who died at that time for the law of God have been ordinarily classed among the martyrs.

They are the first we know of who laid down their lives in that good cause. The three companions of Daniel, when they were cast into the furnace, Dan. iii, 21, and he himself, by being exposed to the lions, had all the merit of martyrdom; but God wrought miracles to preserve them. Eleazar, the seven brethren, and the rest that are mentioned in the history of the Maccabees, 2 Macc. vi, 18; vii, really gave up their lives for the sake of God and the law of their fathers, which is the first example that I know of this kind of virtue in the whole history of the world. We see no infidel, not even one of the philosophers, who chose to suffer death, and the most cruel punishment, rather than violate his religion or the laws of his country.

Josephus boldly reproaches the Gentiles with it. *Many captives*, says he, *of our nation have*

suffered all sorts of torment and death in the theatres, and upon divers occasions, rather than speak the least word against the law, and the other Scriptures: but where is the Greek that would not let all the books of his nation be burned rather than suffer any harm himself? (Cont. App. lib. i.)

Indeed, some Jews were overcome by persecution: but then they entirely renounced their religion and laws, and used artifice to disguise their circumcision: so that they were no longer accounted Jews. And such as continued faithful were so zealous for their law and liberty, that at last they took up arms to defend themselves against the Syrian kings. These princes openly violated all the privileges that had been granted to the Jews by the kings of Persia, and confirmed by Alexander and the other Macedonian kings; and seemed determined to abolish the true religion, which was still at that time confined to a particular people and country.

CHAPTER IV.

The Reign of the Asmoneans.

We are now come to the time of the Maccabees, when the Jewish nation raised itself up again, and shone with a new lustre. They were no longer a poor people, that aspired no higher than to live in peace, under the conduct of their high priest and elders; whose happi-

ness only consisted in being at liberty to cultivate their lands, and serve God in their own way. They became a state entirely independent, supported by good troops, strong garrisons, and alliances, not only with their neighbouring princes, but with remote kingdoms, even Rome itself. 1 Macc. xiv, 4, 18. The kings of Egypt and Syria, who had used them so ill, were forced afterward to court their friendship. They also made conquests: John Hyrcanus took Sichem and Gerizim, and destroyed the temple of the Samaritans; (Joseph. Ant. xiii, 17;) so absolute was he over all the land of Israel. He extended his dominions into Syria, where he conquered several towns, after the death of Antiochus Sidetes; and into Idumea, which he so entirely subdued, that he obliged the inhabitants to be circumcised and observe the law of Moses, as being incorporated into the nation of the Jews. His son Aristobulus added the ensigns of royalty to the real power, taking the diadem and title of king: (Joseph. Ant. xiii, c. 20, 21, 22:) and Alexander Jannæus made still greater conquests.

But this glory of the Jews was of short continuance: for, though the weakening the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria had served to exalt them, the entire ruin of those two kingdoms brought on theirs too, by the vast addition it made to the Roman power. Indeed, the beginning of their decay was occasioned by their domestic quarrels, and the continual misunderstandings between the two sons of Alexander

Jannæus, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. In short, they had enjoyed their liberty but fourscore years, since Simeon had been declared head of the nation, after casting off the Grecian yoke, till Pompey, invited by Hyrcanus, took Jerusalem, entered into the temple, and made the Jews tributaries.

After that they were in a miserable condition for above twenty years: divided by the parties of the two brothers, and plundered by the Romans, (Joseph. Ant. xiv, 8, 12,) who took from them, at different times, above ten thousand talents, which is about *one million, eight hundred and thirty-three thousand, three hundred and fifty pounds* sterling. After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, the Parthians, taking advantage of Mark Antony's weakness, who was governor of the east, made themselves masters of Syria and Palestine, and took Hyrcanus captive.

During all the time of the Roman civil wars, and while the Parthians had the better of them, Palestine was exposed to cruel ravages by so many armies of different nations passing through it, and by the incursions of neighbouring people, particularly the Arabians.

It is true, it recovered again a little under Herod: (Joseph. Ant. xv:) he brought back peace and plenty to it: he was powerful, rich, and lived in great state. But it cannot be said the Jews were free in his time. He was not so himself, and depended entirely upon the Roman emperors. He was a foreigner, by birth

an Idumean, had no religion, and only kept up the appearance of it to serve political purposes. He destroyed the succession of the high priests, sending for one Hananiel from Babylon, a despicable man, though of the sacerdotal family; (Joseph. Ant. xv, c. 2;) after whom they had no high priests but such and as many as the kings pleased.

When Herod was dead, there was no longer any power in Judea. His sons only kept part of his kingdom, and that not long. Judea had Roman governors, depending upon the proconsul of Syria. At last the Jews were banished out of it, and reduced to their present condition. This, therefore, is the last time that any account is to be made of them as a nation, from their liberty under Simon and the Asmoneans till their destruction under Vespasian. It is a period of about two hundred years, taking in most part of the history of the Maccabees, and all that of the New Testament, during which time the manners of the Jews were very different from what they were before.

CHAPTER V.

The Manners of the Jews of later Times.

These later Jews were mingled with many nations. There were some of them settled "in every country under heaven," Acts ii, 5, as the Scripture says. Many came to dwell in

Judea, or at least made some journeys of devotion thither, to sacrifice in the only temple where it was lawful to do so. Besides, there were always from time to time some Gentiles who were made converts. Thus the Jews were, properly speaking, no longer a people by themselves, using the same language and customs, for many others began to unite under the same religion. The inhabitants of the Holy Land consisted of different nations, as Idumeans and other Arabians, Egyptians, Syrians, and Greeks.

All the Jews still looked upon themselves as brethren, and assisted each other in whatever part of the world they were dispersed. They exercised hospitality toward such as travelled; and relieved the poor in all provinces, but especially in Judea. As they that were at a distance could not pay their tenths and first fruits in kind, nor come to the temple to make their offerings upon all festivals, they turned all these dues into money, and these contributions altogether made up a considerable sum; (Joseph. Ant. xiv, 12;) which each province sent annually to Jerusalem for the expense of sacrifices and maintaining the priests and poor. This is the Jewish gold that Tully speaks of. (Pro Flacco.)

These collections continued many years after the destruction of the temple. (Epiph. hær. xxx, n. 4, 7, 11.) The chief of the nation sent out senators at certain times, who commonly resided near him, and were called *apostles*, that

is to say, envoys. They went through the provinces to visit the synagogues, and had authority over such as presided there, and over the elders and ministers, and at the same time carried back the collections to the patriarch. But the Christian emperors forbade the continuance of it. (Lib. iv, Cod. de Judæis.) The patriarchs came to this dignity by succession; so that they were often infants. (Hier. in Isaiah iii, 4.) But before Jerusalem was destroyed, some of the heads of their nation resided in every province, who were called in Greek *ethnarchs*, and judged them by their own law. Those of Egypt are famous, among others.

In Judea the Jews were governed, as before, by a council of seventy-two elders, which they called sanhedrim, from a Greek word corrupted;* and these are *the elders of the people* mentioned in the gospel. Luke xxii, 66, &c. In every synagogue there was a head or ruler of it, as we see in the New Testament. Luke viii, 41. There were priests or elders, and deacons or servants, named *Hazanin*, to take care of the synagogue, and present the book to the doctor who instructed them. There were also twenty-three judges in each city, as has been said before. For it is to this time chiefly that all which the Talmud says concerning the form of judgments and the execution of justice must be referred. (Cod. Sanhed. Maccoth.)

* Epiph. hær. xxx, n. 1. סנהדרין sanhedrin, from the Greek Συνεδριον; from *συν together*, and *ἑδρα a seat*, an assembly of counsellors.

The Jews of Judea always applied themselves to tillage, breeding of cattle, and all kinds of husbandry. There are some medals still remaining, as old as the times of the Maccabees, upon which are to be seen ears of corn and measures, (Vales. in Euseb. vii, 10; Palad. Vita Chrysost.,) to show the fertility of the country, and the honour in which they held agriculture. Thus the Apocrypha describes to us the prosperity of Simon's government: *Then did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase, and the trees of the field their fruit: the ancient men sat all in the streets consulting together for the good of the country, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. He provided victuals for the cities, and sent them in all manner of munition, so that his honourable name was renowned unto the end of the world. He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy. For every man sat under his vine and his fig tree, and there was none to disquiet them,* 1 Macc. xiv, 8, &c. And the author of Ecclesiasticus has not omitted taking notice of this duty. *Hate not laborious work, neither husbandry,* say he, *which the Most High has ordained,* Ecclus. vii, 15.

There are some remains of old customs in every nation: there were still at that time husbandmen of good families in Italy and Sicily, and there will always be hunters in Germany.

Most of the parables in the gospel are taken from a country life: *the sower, the good seed, the tares, the vineyard, the good tree, the bad tree, the strayed sheep, the good shepherd;* and all this often spoken in cities, and in Jerusalem itself. Indeed, many parables show us that trading with money was common among the Jews, and that there were bankers and usurers by profession. Many were publicans, that is, farmers of the tribute and revenues: but this was an office that drew upon them the public hatred. Joseph the son of Tobit is a notorious example, who got all the tribute of Syria and Phœnicia awarded to him under Ptolemy Epiphanes, and acquired immense riches by it. (Joseph. Ant. xii, 4.)

If there were bankers and tax-gatherers among the Jews, there is more reason to think there were wholesale and retail merchants; both which are mentioned by the author of Ecclesiasticus, where he says he looked upon them as dangerous trades: *A merchant can hardly keep himself from doing wrong, and a huckster shall not be freed from sin,* Ecclus. xxvi, 29. He goes to the source of the evil, and adds, *That the desire of riches blindeth men, and makes them fall into sin;* and that *as a nail sticks fast between the joinings of the stones, so doth sin stick close between buying and selling,* Ecclus. xxvii, 2. Thus did God call back his people to their ancient customs, showing them the powerful reasons that induced their fathers not to trade.

But they were not much better for his instructions; and since their utter reprobation they have always been departing farther and farther from the simple and natural way in which the Israelites lived. It is a long time since the Jews had any lands, or followed husbandry; they live only by trade, and by the worst sort of it too. They are retailers, brokers, and usurers; their whole substance consists only in money, and other movables; few of them have habitations of their own in any city.

Many profess physic, and have done so ever since the time I am speaking of. The author of Ecclesiasticus shows it, who recommends the use of this art, and the composition of medicine. Ecclus. xxxviii, 1–15. There is mention made in the gospel of a woman who had spent all that she had upon physicians. Luke viii, 43. What the forementioned author says afterward of the great leisure required for the study of wisdom, Ecclus. xxxviii, 24, seems to prove that the scribes or doctors made it their whole employment; but he shows at the same time the necessity of artificers, and there were then many among the Jews. Ecclus. xxxviii, 27, &c. The apostles, Joseph, and Jesus Christ himself, are undeniable examples of it; and what is most remarkable, St. Paul, though brought up to letters, was master likewise of a trade. The Jews relate the same of their most celebrated rabbins. (Talmud.)

CHAPTER VI.

Their Sects and Superstitions.

The difference of sects began at that time: under Jonathan the son of Mattathias there were already Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. (Joseph. Ant. xiii, 9; xviii, 2.) The Pharisees joined the traditions of the fathers to the text of the law, which were preserved without writing; and though the doctrine they maintained was good at the bottom, they mixed a great many superstitions with it. They believed in fate, moderated by free will, or rather by providence, which guides it. The Sadducees, who were a sort of Deists, imputed all to free will. They acknowledged only the five books of Moses as divine, and these they interpreted literally, and pretended that they did not oblige them to believe a resurrection, or the immortality of the soul, or that there were angels or spirits. Acts xxiii, 8. Thus they served God only for a temporal reward, and gave themselves up much to sensual pleasures. They had little agreement among themselves, and but small authority with the people. Their number was not great; but they were the chief of the nation, and even many of them priests. The common people were more attached to the Pharisees, who kept an outward show of great piety. Queen Alexandra gave them considerable power in the minority of her sons. (Joseph. Bell. i, 4.)

The sect of Essenes was the most singular. They avoided living in great towns, their goods were in common, and their diet very plain. (Ibid. ii, 7.) They spent a great deal of time in prayer, and meditating upon the law. Their manner of life was very like that of the prophets and Rechabites. Some of them, too, observed a perfect continence, leading a life altogether contemplative, and in such purity that many of the fathers have taken them for Christians. They were a very simple and upright people, and are never reprehended by Christ or his apostles.

The Pharisees lived in the midst of the world, in great amity with one another, leading a plain and outwardly strict life; but most of them were interested, ambitious, and covetous. They valued themselves on a great exactness in the outward performance of the law. Matt. xxiii, 23; Mark vii, 2. They gave tithes not only of large fruits, but of the smallest herbs, as cummin, mint, and anise. They took great care to wash themselves, to purify their cups, their plate, and all their furniture. They kept the Sabbath so scrupulously, that they made it a crime in our Saviour to moisten a bit of clay at the end of his finger, John ix, 6; and in his disciples to pluck some ears of corn to eat as they passed along, Matt. xii, 2. They fasted often, many of them twice a week, Luke xviii, 12; *i. e.*, on Mondays and Thursdays. They affected wearing the *totaphot** or *phylac-*

* טוטפת totphot, according to R. S. Jarchi,

teries on the borders of their garments, together with their *tsitsith* or fringes much larger than ordinary. Matt. xxiii, 5. The *totaphot*, *tephillin*, or *phylacteries*, are scraps of writing, containing some passages of the law, fastened upon their forehead and left arm, in obedience to the command of having the law of God always before their eyes or in their hands. Deut. vi, 8. The *tsitsith* or fringes were of different colours, and they were ordered to wear them on the borders of their garments, that they might look upon them, and remember the commandments of God. Num. xv, 38. The Jews even to this day wear these outward marks of religion, when they go to the synagogue; but upon working days only; for upon the Sabbath and feast days they pretend they have no occasion for these remembrancers.*

signifies *two* and *two*, or *twice two*; טט signifies *two* in the language of the Cathpians, (a people of Spain,) and פת the same in the African or Punic tongue. Hence the *totphot* are always divided into four compartments. (See Jarchi on Exod. xiii, 16.)

* Buxtorf. Synagog. Jud. c. 4. PHYLACTERIES, φυλακτηρια from φυλασσω, to *keep* or *preserve*, were small slips of parchment or vellum, on which certain portions of the law were written. These the Jews tied about their foreheads and wrists. 1. To put them in mind of those precepts which they should constantly observe. 2. To procure them reverence and respect in the sight of the heathen; and 3. To act as *amulets* or *charms* to drive away evil spirits. The *first use* of these phylacteries is evident from their *name*. The *second use* appears from what is said on the subject from *Gemara*, *Beracoth*, quoted by Kypke. "Whence is it proved that phylacteries (תפילין

The Pharisees gave alms in public, and made their faces that they might look as if they fasted much. Matt. vi, 2, 5, 16–18. For an

tephilin) are the strength of Israel? Ans. From what is written, Deut. xxviii, 10. All the people of the earth shall see that thou art called by the name of יהוה Jehovah; and they shall be afraid of thee." The *third use* of them appears from the *Targum* on Cant. viii, 3. His left hand is under my head, &c. "The congregation of Israel hath said, I am elect above all people, because I bind my phylacteries on my left hand and on my head, and the scroll is fixed to the right side of my gate, the third part of which looks to my bedchamber, that demons may not be permitted to injure me."

An original phylactery lies now before me. It is a piece of fine vellum about eighteen inches long, and an inch and a quarter broad. It is divided into four unqual compartments; in the *first* are written in a very fair character (with many *apices* after the mode of the German Jews) the first ten verses of Exod. xiii. In the second compartment is written from the eleventh to the sixteenth verse of the same chapter, inclusive.

In the *third*, from the fourth to the ninth verse, inclusive, of Deut. vi, beginning with, *Hear, O Israel*, &c.

In the *fourth*, from the thirteenth to the twenty-first verse, inclusive, of Deut. xi, *And it shall come to pass*, &c. These passages seem to be chosen in vindication of the use of the phylactery itself, as the reader will see in consulting them. *Bind them up for a sign upon thy hand, and for frontlets between thy eyes. Write them upon the posts of thy house, and upon thy gates;*—all which command the Jews took in the most literal sense. Even the phylactery became an important appendage to a Pharisee's character; insomuch that some of this sect wore them very broad, either that they might have the more written on them, or that the characters being larger they might be the more visible, and that they might hereby acquire greater esteem among the common people. For the

unclean person to touch them was reckoned the highest affront; and such they esteemed not only the Gentiles and public sinners, but all that were of any odious profession. In short, most of them were devout only out of interest; they misled ignorant people by their specious discourses, and the women even stripped themselves of whatever was valuable, to enrich them; and, under pretence that they were the people of God with whom the law was deposited, they despised the Greeks and Romans, and all the nations upon earth.

We still see in the books of the Jews these traditions, of which the Pharisees made so great a mystery from time to time, and which were written about a hundred years after the resurrection of Christ. It is hardly possible for a Christian to conceive the frivolous questions with which these books are filled; as, Whether it be lawful on the Sabbath day to get upon an ass to take it to the water, or whether it must be led by the halter? Whether one may walk over new sown land, because one runs a hazard of taking up some grains with the foot,

same reason they wore the *fringes* of their garments of an unusual length. Moses had commanded, Num. xv, 38, 39, the children of Isreal to put fringes to the borders of their garments, that, when they looked even upon these distinct threads, they might remember not only the law in general, but also the very minute or smaller parts of all the precepts, rites, and ceremonies belonging to it. As these hypocrites were destitute of the life and power of religion *within*, they endeavoured to supply its place by phylacteries and fringes *without*.

and consequently of sowing them? Whether it be permitted on that day to write as many letters of the alphabet as will make sense? If it be lawful to eat an egg laid on the Sabbath the same day? About purifying the old leaven before the passover: whether they must begin again to purify a house, if they should see a mouse running across it with a crumb of bread? If it be lawful to keep pasted paper, or any plaster that has flour in it? If it be lawful to eat what has been dressed with the coals that remain after the old leaven is burned? (Buxtorf. Synag. cap. xi.) And a thousand of other such cases of conscience, with which the Talmud and its commentaries are stuffed.

Thus the Jews forgot the greatness and majesty of the law of God, applying themselves to mean and trifling things; and were now stupid and ignorant in comparison of the Greeks, who reasoned upon more useful and elevated subjects in their schools, and who at least were polite and agreeable, if not virtuous.

Not but there were always some Jews more curious than the rest, who took pains to speak Greek correctly, read Greek books, and applied to their studies, as grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. Such a one was Aristobulus, a peripatetic philosopher, preceptor to Ptolemy Philometor; and such were Eupolemus, Demetrius, and the two Philos. Some of them wrote histories in Greek, and after the Greek manner; as Jason of Cyrene; and the author of the second book of Maccabees, chap. ii, 23,

who has abridged his works; and Josephus, the celebrated historian.

Most of the Jews that studied Greek lived in Alexandria. Others were content to speak Greek so as to be understood, that is, badly, and always retaining the turn of their native language; and it is in this compound Greek that the translation of the Old Testament, and the original of the New, are written. The apostles and evangelists thought it sufficient to write in a clear, concise manner, despising all ornaments of language, and making use of that which was most easy to be understood by the common people of their own nation; so that, to understand their Greek perfectly, one must be acquainted with Hebrew and Syriac.*

The Jews of these later times employed themselves much in reading their law, and the Holy Scriptures in general. They were not satisfied with expounding them according to the letter: they found out several senses in them, expressed by allegories and divers metaphors: we see it not only in the New Testament, and the writings of the most ancient fathers in controversy with them, (Justin. Dial. cum Tryph.,) but by the books of Philo, the Talmud, and oldest Hebrew commentators upon the law, which they call *great Genesis*, *great Exodus*,

* In order to understand the phraseology of the New Testament properly, the Septuagint should be carefully studied; and, indeed, a knowledge of Hebrew is in many respects essential to a thorough understanding of both.

and so on. (Bereshith Rabba, &c.) They held these figurative senses by tradition from their fathers.

But, to say all at once, the manners of the Jews in those times were excessively corrupt. They were ridiculously proud of being descended from Abraham, and puffed up with the promises of the Messiah's kingdom, which they knew to be near, and imagined would abound with victories and all manner of temporal prosperity. They were selfish, avaricious, and sordid, especially the Pharisees, who were in general great hypocrites: they were wavering and unfaithful, always ripe for sedition and revolt, under a pretence of casting off the yoke of the Gentiles. In short, they were violent and cruel, as appears by what they made our Saviour and his apostles undergo, and the unexampled injuries they did one another, both in the time of the civil war and the last siege of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER VII.

The true Israelites.

However, it was among these people that the tradition of virtue was preserved, as well as that of doctrine and religion. In this last time they had still splendid examples of holiness; Zachariah and Elizabeth his wife, Joseph, old Simeon, Anna the prophetess, Nathanael,

Gamaliel, the great doctor, and many others taken notice of in the history of the New Testament. All these holy persons, and the spiritual Jews in general, that were circumcised in heart, as well as body, were children of Abraham, more by imitation of his faith, than by birth. They firmly believed the prophecies and promises of God; they waited with patience for the redemption of Israel and the reign of the Messiah, which they vehemently wished for; but they plainly saw they were not to confine their hopes to this life, but believed the resurrection, and expected the kingdom of heaven. Thus the grace of the gospel being superadded to such holy dispositions, it was easy to make *perfect Christians* of these *true Israelites*.

PART IV.

Containing farther particulars concerning the customs, manners, &c., of the Israelites, in which a variety of subjects, either not touched before, or but slightly handled, are considered more at large.

CHAPTER I.

Division of the Hebrews into Tribes and Families.

The Hebrews were divided into twelve tribes, according to the number of the sons of Jacob. But God reserved to himself the posterity of *Levi*, and consecrated them to the service of his altars. So *that tribe* could not properly be reckoned among the twelve tribes; but then *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, the two sons of Joseph, made two different tribes, which thereby supplied its place. The tribe of Levi was divided into three families, which derived their names and origin from the three sons of Levi. From Gershon came the Gershonites; from Kohath, the Kohathites; from Merari, the Merarites. Kohath, the second son of Levi, had Amram, the father of Aaron and Moses; the latter of which was the governor and lawgiver of the Hebrews, the former their high priest. Aaron had four sons, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar. After the death of the two former, the priesthood remained with the

two others, whose posterity David divided into twenty-four classes, who performed the offices of the priesthood weekly, in their turns. 1 Chron. xxiv. Sixteen of these classes were in the family of Eleazar; whose names and order were as follow:—

1. Jehoiarib, 2. Jedaiah, 3. Harim, 4. Seorim, 5. Malchijah, 6. Mijamim, 7. Hakkoz, 8. Abijah, 9. Jeshuah, 10. Shecaiah, 11. Eliashib, 12. Jakim, 13. Huppah, 14. Jeshebeah, 15. Bilgah, 16. Immer. So that there were but eight in the family of Ithamar, viz., 17. Hezir, 18. Aphses, 19. Pethahiah, 20. Jehezekel, or, Ezechiel, 21. Jachin, 22. Gamul, 23. Delaiah, 24. Maaziah.

The other tribes were divided into different families in the same manner, and their names were these:—

The tribe of *Reuben* had four families; the Hanochites, the Palluites, the Hesronites, the Carmites.

The tribe of *Simeon* had five; the Nemuelites, the Jaminites, the Jachinites, the Zarhites, the Shaulites.

The tribe of *Gad* had seven; the Zephonites, the Haggites, the Shanites, the Oznites, the Erites, the Arodites, the Arelites.

The tribe of *Judah* had five; the Shelanites, the Pharzites, the Zarhites, the Hesronites, the Hamulites.

The tribe of *Issachar* had four; the Tolaites, the Punites, the Jashubites, the Shrimronites.

The tribe of *Zebulun* had three; the Sardites, the Elonites, the Jahleelites.

The tribe of *Manasseh* had eight; the Machirites, the Gileadites, the Jeezerites, the Helekites, the Arielites, the Shechemites, the Shemiadites, the Hepherites.

The tribe of *Ephraim* had four; the Shuthalites, the Bachrites, the Tahanites, the Eranites.

The tribe of *Benjamin* had seven; the Belaites, the Ashbeelites, the Ahiramites, the Shuphamites, the Huphamites, the Ardites, the Naamites.

The tribe of *Dan* had but one; the Shuhamites.

The tribe of *Asher* had five; the Jimnites, the Jesuites, the Beriites, the Heberites the Malchielites.

The tribe of *Naphtali* had four; the Jahzeelites, the Gunites, the Jezerites, the Shillemites.

Hitherto we have spoken only of the Hebrews by birth, who descended from Abraham, and belonged to one of the tribes; whence it was that they were better esteemed among the Jews than those who had been born Gentiles, and had embraced Judaism. For thus we find St. Paul urging it, as a matter of merit among the Jews, that he was born a Jew. "I was," says he, "circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of the Hebrews: as touching the law, a Pharisee," Phil. iii, 5. The second sort of

the Hebrews we mentioned were such as were Gentiles by birth, but had embraced the Jewish religion.

None were excluded from receiving Judaism but *eunuchs*. All *strangers* were received into it whenever they thought fit to submit to its laws, or at least to the principal of them; for these *proselytes* (that is to say, *strangers*, Προσηλυτοι) were of two sorts. Some were called *proselytes of habitation*,* others *proselytes of justice*. The former had only their dwelling or *habitation* among the Jews, and did not engage themselves to an entire observance of the law. But they were nevertheless obliged to keep the Sabbath, and what the Talmudists call *the precepts of Noah*, that is, what God commanded *Noah* to observe, namely, not to worship idols, and to abstain from blood; together with some other commandments which he gave him, and of which we shall speak more particularly in another place. For the Jews were far from suffering the *strangers*, who dwelt among them, to live without laws. All which Maimonides explains in his treatise of a proselyte. (Chap. ii.) "What," says he, "is a proselyte of habitation? He is one who engages to renounce idolatry, and observe the commandments which were given to the children of Noah; but neither is circumcised nor baptized. He is called *a proselyte of habitation*,

* Or, "proselytes of the gate," because permitted to live within their gates. (Prid. Con. part ii, lib. v.)

because we are permitted to give such a one a habitation among the children of Israel, and he is received as a religious Gentile." He adds, "Whoever engages to keep the commandments of Noah, and is exact in his observance of them, has a right to the rewards of a future state." And the Jews were forbidden to suffer any Gentile to live among them who did not submit to the observance of these precepts; as we learn from the same author. "We are obliged," says he, "to kill all the Gentles who refuse to keep the commandments of Noah, if they are in our power. It is only to us, who are the inheritance of Jacob, and to those of any other nation who will become proselytes, that Moses has given the law. For it is said there shall be no difference between the proselytes and you. And, therefore, as to the law, let him embrace it that will; we force nobody to it: but as for the commandments of Noah, Moses our master, who was taught by God himself, has commanded us to force all those who shall come into the world to observe them, and to kill all those who shall refuse to keep them. He who receives them is called *a proselyte of habitation*, and must engage himself to do so in the presence of three learned persons."

The second sort of converted Hebrews were called *proselytes of justice*. They were so called because they embraced the whole law of Moses, and engaged themselves to live holily and justly. And they therefore had the rank and privileges

of natural Jews. And it is of them that we are to understand those words of our blessed Saviour in the gospel, "Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte," Matt. xxiii, 15.

In order to become *a proselyte of justice*, there were three ceremonies to be performed; the first of which was *circumcision*. The blood that was spilt in the performance of this, was called *the blood of the covenant*, and these new converts were thought to be *the children of it*. And as to the necessity of it, the commandment of God to Abraham is very express: "The uncircumcised man child, whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people," Gen. xvii, 14. Circumcision was, as it were, the *seal* which sealed the covenant which the proselyte entered into with God, and the solemn profession he made of observing the law of Moses; which made St. Paul say, Gal. v, 3, "I testify to every man that is circumcised,* that he is a debtor to do the whole law." And Maimonides (Ibid. chap. i,) also teaches the same thing. "When a Gentile," says he, "has a mind to enter into the covenant, to shelter himself under the wings of the majesty of God, and to submit to the law, he must be circumcised."

The second ceremony was *washing*, or *baptism;* which must have been performed in the presence of at least three Jews of distinction. At the time of the performance of it, the pro-

* Or, as the French has it, "Every man that causes himself to be circumcised.'

selyte declared his abhorrence of his past life, and that it was neither ambition nor avarice, but a sincere love for the law of Moses, which prevailed on him to be baptized; and he was then likewise instructed in the most essential part of the law. He promised at the same time to lead a godly life, to worship the true God, and to keep his commandments. And hence the Christian Church has borrowed those ceremonies which she makes use of in receiving proselytes, whether Jews or Gentiles; for it is manifest that the institution of baptism by Jesus Christ, and the discipline of the primitive church in the administration of it, have a relation to this ceremony among the Jews.

The third ceremony to be performed was that of offering *sacrifice*. All these, except circumcision, were performed by the women as well as the men, who became proselytes. And as concerning those who had gone through all these ceremonies, it was a common opinion among the Jews that they ought to be looked on as new-born infants. Maimonides says it in express terms: "A Gentile," says he, "who is become a proselyte, and a slave who is set at liberty, are both as it were new-born babes; which is the reason why those who before were their parents, are now no longer so." Whence it is evident that nothing could be more just than Jesus Christ's reproaching Nicodemus with his being *a master in Israel*, and yet being at the same time ignorant how a man could *be born a second time*. John iii, 10.

But to be more particular; I cannot forbear relating here at large all that Maimonides says of the manner of their receiving proselytes. It will, I doubt not, be some pleasure to the reader to trace out in it the origin of Christian baptism, and of the ancient ceremonies which the church observed in it. For they are all borrowed from the Jews; Jesus Christ and his apostles not having thought fit to abolish them, or to substitute new ones in their room.

"How," says he, "ought a proselyte now to be received? When any one offers himself, if upon a strict inquiry it appears that the motives to his conversion are pure, he shall be asked this question: What have you seen in us which inclines you to become a proselyte? Don't you know that the Israelites live now in sorrow and reproach, that they are exiles, are dispersed abroad, and are laden every day with fresh miseries? If he answers, I know all this, and yet think myself unworthy of being received among them, he must be admitted. And then he shall be taught the principal articles of religion, the unity of God, and the prohibition of idolatry, in which he must be thoroughly instructed. And among the commandments of God that are taught him, both some of the most and some of the least importance shall be mentioned, but briefly. To which shall be added the punishments annexed to the breach of these precepts. It shall be said to him, Are you sensible that before you embrace religion you may eat fat, and not observe the Sabbath? And that

if after you are become a proselyte you eat fat, you will be excommunicated, and if you break the Sabbath, stoned? But nevertheless these punishments are not to be mentioned to him but with a great deal of prudence, lest the terrible idea they give him of religion should turn him from the right way. Men must first be won over by gentle methods; they must, as the Scripture expresses it, be 'drawn with the cords of a man, with bands of love,' Hos. xi, 4.

"And as he must be instructed in the doctrine of punishments, so likewise in that of rewards. It shall be declared to him, that the observance of the law will gain him an immortal life in the other world, and that none are truly wise and just in this, but they who know the law and keep it. For it shall be added, that a future life is reserved only for the righteous, which are the Israelites; and that if they are unhappy in this world, this very thing shows that they will be eternally happy in the next. It is not necessary that they should enjoy the same happiness upon earth that other people do; their corrupt inclinations might lead them either into pride or error, and they might by that means lose the reward of the world to come. *Jeshurun*, as saith the Scripture, 'waxed fat, and kicked,' Deut. xxxii, 15. So that God does not punish the Israelites with design to destroy them. No, they shall be preserved; and it is the Gentiles which shall be destroyed. It is proper to enlarge upon this subject, that his love and zeal may be doubled thereby.

"If he alters his resolution, and no longer desires to be a proselyte, he shall be left at his liberty. If he perseveres, circumcision must not be deferred. And if he has been already circumcised, the blood of the covenant must be drawn afresh from the wound. And then time shall be given him for his cure, after which he must be baptized.

"Three chosen men shall stand before him when he is in the water, and shall again propose to him some of the commandments of the law. If it be a woman, women shall put her into the water, the doctors shall instruct her while she is in it, and then they shall go out, and turn away their eyes from her while she comes out."

CHAPTER II.

Names and Divisions of the Holy Land.

As to names, the country of the Hebrews has had several. It was first called *the land of Canaan*, from Canaan, the son of Ham, whose posterity possessed it. It was afterward called *Palestine*, from the people which the Hebrews call *Philistines*, and the Greeks and Romans (corruptly) *Palestines*, who inhabit the sea-coasts, and were first known to them. And it likewise had the name of *the land of promise*, from the promise God gave Abraham of giving it to him; that of *the land of Israel*, from the Israelites having made themselves masters of it; that of *Judea*, from the tribe of Judah,

which was the most considerable of the twelve, and the only one that remained after the dispersion; and lastly, the happiness it had of being sanctified by the presence, actions, miracles, and death of Jesus Christ, has given it the name of *the Holy Land*, which it retains to this day.

As it has happened to other countries, with respect to the inhabitants, and their cities, so likewise to this. It has often changed its inhabitants and masters; several of its cities have been ruined, and several of them new built; and it has been divided in several different manners, in the various revolutions it has undergone. For it was differently divided, 1. By its ancient inhabitants; 2. By Joshua; 3. By the Romans; 4. In the time of Christ; and 5. By Herod.

But it is not so as to its rivers and mountains; they are neither of them subject to change. The Jordan is almost the only river in the Holy Land; the others are rather brooks or rivulets. This river divides Judea; for it has its rise among the mountains of Libanus, and after having run through the sea of Galilee, loses itself in the Dead Sea, which is the other extremity of the land of Judah, toward the south. It took its name from the city of Dan, in whose neighbourhood it rises; for *Jordan*, or *Yarden*, is the same thing as if it was said, *the river of Dan*.* The sea of Galilee,

* הירדן Ha Yarden, "the river of Dan," or "judgment."

which Jordan runs through, is but a lake; but the Hebrews give the name of *sea* to any great collection of waters. The same may be observed of the Dead Sea. It is a great lake, which the Greeks call Asphaltitis, on account of the bitumen it abounds with; and the Jews call it the Dead Sea, because fish cannot live in it. It was in this place, which is now covered by the lake, that the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah stood. After *Jordan* are reckoned *Jarmach* in the country of the Gergesenes, which rises among the mountains of Gilead; and *Kirmion*, near Damascus, otherwise called *Amanach*, or *Abana;* to which are added *Pharphar*, which runs down from Mount Hermon; *Kishon*, which was in the tribes of Issachar and Zabulun; *Arnon*, which comes from the mountain of the same name, and runs into the Dead Sea; and *Jabok*, which falls into Jordan.

This country has several mountains; the most famous of which are, *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, to the north; the mountains of Gilead, those of the Moabites, *Hermon* and *Arnon*, to the east; the mountains of the Desert, to the south; and *Carmel*, the mountains of Ephraim, and the mountains of the Philistines, to the west. And there are likewise some in the middle of Judea, as *Tabor*, *Gerizim*, *Ebal*, *Sion*, *Moriah*, *Hebron*, and what the gospel calls the mountains of Judea. But to return to the divisions before mentioned.

1. When Abraham went into the land of Canaan, it was inhabited by eleven sorts of

people, who, as Moses tells us, Gen. x, took their names from the eleven sons of Canaan. They were these :—

The *Sidonians*, descended from Sidon ; they possessed the cities of Sidon, Tyre, Jokneam, and Acon, since called Ptolemais.

The *Jebusites*, from Jebus their parent, since called the Philistines ; their cities were Lachish, Gath, Ekron, Ascalon, Azotus, Gerar, and Debir.

The *Amorites*, descended from Amor ; who had the cities of Nabah, Heshbon, Bozrah, and Ramoth-Gilead.

The *Girgashites*, from Girgas ; they had the cities of Damascus, Maachathi, Geshur, Zobah, Teman, Ashteroth, and Edrei.

The *Hivites*, from Heveh ; their cities are Jerusalem, Jericho, Ai, Bethel, Gilead, Libnah, Makkeda, and Bezer.

The *Arkites*, descended from Arak ; who had the cities of Esebon, Midian, and Petra.

The *Sinites*, who descended from Sin, and were masters of the cities of Admah, Sodom, Gomorrah, Zeboim, and Zoar.

The *Arvadites*, from Arad ; who possessed the cities of Arad, Jarmuth, Hebron, Adullam, and Eglon.

The *Zemarites*, from Zemar ; in their territories were built Samariah, Tappuah, Tirzah, and Tanai.

The *Hamathites*, from Hamath ; who had the cities of Shimron, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Hamath. To which likewise are added the

Perizzites, to whom belonged the cities of Amalek and Bozrah.

2. When the Israelites made themselves masters of *the land of Canaan*, since from them called *the land of Israel*, the most powerful people who inhabited it were the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Jebusites, and the Girgashites. It was from them that Joshua gained it by conquest, and he divided it into twelve parts, which the twelve tribes drew by lot. The tribe of Levi indeed possessed no lands: God assigned the Levites the tenths and first fruits of the estates of their brethren: though nevertheless they had some cities which were dispersed among the other tribes, and were therefore called *Levitical cities;* and some of them were cities of refuge for those who should have killed any one unawares. But though the tribe of Levi did not partake of the division of the land, and this division therefore was only among eleven of the sons of Jacob, yet was the land of Israel divided into twelve portions. There were, I say, twelve tribes, notwithstanding, who divided the land of Canaan among them, inasmuch as the children of the two sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh, made two different tribes. Those of Reuben, Gad, and a part of that of Manasseh, were placed beyond Jordan, toward Arabia and Syria; the rest settled on this side of it.

The most considerable change which took place in this country was that which happened

when the ten tribes were driven from it, and carried into captivity by the Assyrians. The Cutheans, who were sent to possess their country, dwelt chiefly in the tribe of Ephraim and the half tribe of Manasseh. The tribe of Judah continued in captivity at Babylon seventy years; and the Greeks afterward made themselves masters of the empire of the east, and some of them, who were kings of Syria, reunited the greatest part of the country which the tribes of Israel possessed to their crown; and by this means (the tribe of Judah remaining alone after the others were dispersed) the names which the different parts of the land of promise had received upon the division Joshua made of it among the twelve tribes, were changed long before the birth of Jesus Christ.

3. The Romans divided this country into Palestine and Phœnicia. The former contained the ancient country of the Philistines, the latter all the maritime cities as far as Libanus, and made a part of the kingdom of Syria.

4. In the time of Jesus Christ the land of Israel was divided into *Judea*, *Samaria*, *Galilee*, and *Idumea*; and there were then several Galilees, as we shall see presently.

Judea contained a part of the ancient tribe of Judah, and those of Benjamin, Dan, and Simeon. Its breadth was from Jordan to the city of Joppa.

Idumea, which was south of Judea, between Arabia and Egypt, had been conquered by Hyrcanus; and this high priest commanded

the inhabitants either to be circumcised, or to leave their country; upon which they chose to be circumcised, and from that time their country became a part of Judea; so that it is not to be wondered at if St. Mark reckons the Idumeans among those who came to Jesus Christ. Mark iii, 8. The name of Idumea was at first given only to the country which was possessed by Esau, who in Hebrew is called Edom, that is, *red*. His first descendants were at first called Edomites, and afterward Idumeans. We know of no king of Idumea but Esau, whom the Greeks call ερυθρος, that is to say, *red;* and from hence the Red Sea, or *Erithrea*, has its name; and not from any particular colour either in its water or its sand.

Samaria was at first only the name of a city, but it became afterward that of a province. It contained the tribe of Ephraim, and the half tribe of Manasseh, which was on this side Jordan; so that it was to the north of Judea, and between the great sea, Galilee, and Jordan; and there was therefore no going from Galilee to Jerusalem without passing through this province. John iv, 4. Sichem, called by the Hebrews Sichar, was its capital, and was situated between the mountains Gerizim and Ebal. The name of Sichar was a term of reproach which the Jews gave this city in allusion to that passage of Isaiah, "Wo to the drunkards of Ephraim," Isa. xxviii, 1: for the Hebrew word the prophet here makes use of comes from *sachar*, which signifies *to get drunk*, and St.

John therefore calls this city by the name the Jews used to do. Near it was Jacob's well.

Josephus distinguishes between two *Galilees*, the *upper* and the *lower:* they both join to Syria and Phœnicia, to the west; Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as Jordan, to the south; the towns of Hippus and Gadara, and the territory of Gaulonitis, to the east; and Tyre and its territory, to the north; so that Galilee contained the tribes of Issachar, Zabulun, Ashur, and Naphtali, except Paneadis, which took its name from the city of Paneas, formerly Dan, and since called Cesarea Philippi, situated at the foot of Mount Libanus: all this latter territory is out of Galilee. This province had the happiness to receive the light of the gospel the first of any: it then contained a great number of very populous cities. Josephus, from whom we take this account, reckons up to the number of two hundred and four cities or villages; the least of which had above fifteen thousand inhabitants.

The country that the tribes of Reuben and Gad possessed beyond Jordan was called *Perea*, which signifies *a distant province*, because it was *beyond* Jordan. Its length, according to Josephus, (Wars of the Jews, b. iii, c. 3,) was from the city of Macheron to that of Pella; and its breadth from Philadelphia, a country of the ancient Moabites, to Jordan. Pella was to the north of it; Jordan to the west; the country of the Moabites to the south; and Arabia to the east. The country which ex-

tends toward Libanus northward, and toward the mountains of Hermon eastward near Damascus, was the portion of the half tribe of Manasseh; but afterward it comprehended Gaulonitis, so called from the city of Gaulon, (which Josephus makes to have been two cities, the upper and the lower; Wars of the Jews, b. i, c. 1;) Batanea, which was formerly the kingdom of Bashan; and Trachonitis, which took its name from the craggy mountains with which it abounded. Strabo says it touched upon Cœlosyria. To the north lay Auranitis, which took its name from the city of Auran, which was situated between Cesarea and Damascus. And near it was Iturea, which joined to Cœlosyria, beyond Mount Libanus. Pliny places Iturea in Cœlosyria itself; and Adricomius says Iturea begins at Jordan, and extends all along Libanus, as far as the mountains of Tyre and Sidon toward the west. So that they must be mistaken who place Iturea in Perea. They found their opinion, indeed, upon what the Scripture tells us of the Itureans having assisted the tribes of Reuben and Gad; but it does not follow from thence that Iturea was in the middle of those tribes, or even in their neighbourhood. Perea was subject to Herod the tetrarch; and the gospel tells us that Iturea was a part of Philip's tetrarchy. Luke iii, 1.

But, beside these, there was yet another canton in Judea, which was called *Decapolis*, because it contained *ten cities*, whose inhabitants lived after the Grecian manner, and Josephus

therefore calls them *Grecian cities*. Pliny reckons among the cities of Decapolis, Damascus, Opoton, Philadelphia, Raphana, Scythopolis, Gadara, and Hippus; and Josephus tells us (Antiq. b. xvii, c. 11, s. 4, and Wars of the Jews, b. ii, c. 6, s. 3,) that Cesar separated Gaza, Gadara, and Hippus, from the kingdom of Judea, and joined them to Syria. But those geographers who place Capernaum, Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Cesarea Philippi in Decapolis, are certainly mistaken; though it be true that some of those ten cities were around about the sea of Tiberias and Jordan; and that Josephus therefore says that Galilee was encompassed with strangers. Agreeably to which, he says in another place that the Gentiles killed a great number of the Jews in the cities of Scythopolis, Gadara, and Hippus; and it is probably cities of this kind that the gospel means by the name of "Galilee of the Gentiles."

Gadara, the metropolis of Perea, according to Strabo, gave the name of Gadarenes to its territory, in like manner as that of Gergesenes came from the city of Gergesa. These two little countries were in the neighbourhood of each other; and it ought not therefore to be wondered at that in the relation of the same miracle, St. Mark and St. Luke, Mark v, 2; Luke viii, 26, should say that Jesus Christ did it in the country of the Gadarenes, and St. Matthew, Matt. viii, 28, in that of the Gergesenes: nor is it any more strange that these people should keep swine, since they were

Gentiles. And we find likewise in the same relation of the evangelists a proof that Gadara and Gergesa were parts of Decapolis. For St. Mark says, Mark v, 20, that the demoniac, who was delivered from the unclean spirits which Jesus Christ permitted to go into the herd of swine, published the miracles which Jesus Christ had wrought in his favour, in Decapolis; whereas St. Matthew and St. Luke—Matt. viii, 33; Luke viii, 39—only say that he published them "throughout the whole city," that is, either in Gadara or Gergesa.

These two cities were in the neighbourhood of a lake which was called *Genesareth*, from the city of Chinnereth. This lake the book of Joshua, chap. xii, 3, places in the tribe of Naphtali; and in Numbers, chap. xxxiv, 11, it is called the sea of Chinnereth; for both this passage and that in Joshua are to be understood of this lake. Afterward the name of Genesareth was given both to the lake and the country around about it; which, as Josephus testifies, (Wars of the Jews, b. iii, c. 10, s. 8,) was watered by a spring called Capernaum; whence without doubt the city so called had its name. The sea of Genesareth, as the Hebrews speak, was likewise called the sea of Tiberias, from the city of that name, which stood near it. Some have thought that the city of Tiberias was the ancient Chinnereth; but it is a mistake. Josephus expressly says that Herod built it in a place where there was no city before. "Herod the tetrarch," says he, "to testify

his gratitude to Tiberius, who honoured him with his friendship, chose out an agreeable place upon the borders of the lake called *Genesareth*, and there he built a city which he called Tiberius." (Antiq. b. xviii, c. 2, s. 3.)

Cœlosyria is without the borders of Judea, but joins to them: one part of it is called *Abilene*, from the city Abila, its capital; which I observe, because this little province was a part of Herod the Great's kingdom; and St. Luke, chap. iii, 1, speaking of the princes who governed at the time that St. John began to preach, mentions it. This king, under whom Jesus Christ was born, possessed Idumea, Judea, Samaria, Perea, Galilee, Peneadis, Gaulonitis, Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Abilene.

5. When he died he divided all his dominions among his three sons, Archelaus, Herod Antipas, and Philip. He gave Archelaus the kingdom which contained Idumea, Judea, and Samaria. He gave Herod Galilee and Perea, under the name of a tetrarchy; which was a dignity that held the *fourth* place in the Roman empire, after emperors, proconsuls, and kings. And Philip had Gaulonites, Trachonites, Batanea, and Paneadis, with the same title. This is Josephus' account of it; but St. Luke makes Iturea a part of Philip's tetrarchy. Perhaps Josephus confounds Iturea and Auranitis under the general name of Paneadis. Herod likewise gave Salome, his sister, the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phazealis.

As soon as Herod was dead Archelaus was

proclaimed king; and the fear that the new king was of the same opinion, with relation to the child Jesus, as his father had been, made Joseph and Mary retire to Nazareth, upon their return from Egypt. Matt. ii, 22, 23.

CHAPTER III.

Of the different ways of measuring time among the Hebrews: their hours, days, weeks, months, years, and jubilee.

God, who formed the republic of the Hebrews, appointed certain fixed and regular times for the performance of things, without which all would necessarily have run into disorder and confusion. And this appointment was the more necessary, in that he prescribed the performance of certain sacrifices and festivals; both which he fixed to certain days. But it would be very difficult to form a clear notion of them, if we knew not the manner in which the Hebrews regulated and measured time. For though all people make use of almost the same terms, yet these terms have very different significations; so that our hours, days, months, and years are very different from those of the Hebrews; and we shall, therefore, in this chapter, speak *first*, of days; *secondly*, of weeks; *thirdly*, of months; *fourthly*, of years.

First, of days. *Time* is the measure of things; which duration we judge of, by the relation it bears to the course of the planets; that

is, we say a thing has a longer or shorter duration, in proportion as certain planets have made more or fewer revolutions during its subsistence. The time in which the earth revolves around its own axis from west to east, is termed a *day.* But some begin the day at noon, others at midnight; some at sunrising, and others at sunset. The Hebrews follow this last method; that is to say, with them the day begins at sunset, and ends the next day at the same time.* Whence it is that we read in the gospels, that the sick were not brought out to Jesus Christ on the Sabbath days till after sunset, Matt. viii, 16; Mark i, 32; which was because the Sabbath was then ended, and the Jews, who were scrupulously exact in observing it were no longer afraid of any violation of it.

And it was likewise customary with the Hebrews to express a whole day by the terms, *the evening and the morning*, Gen. i, 5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31; or by these, *the night and the day:* which the Greeks express by the *nuchthemeron*, and which as well signifies any particular *part* of the day or night, as the whole of it. And this is the reason why a thing that has lasted two nights and one whole day, and a part only of the preceding and following days, is said by the Hebrews to have lasted *three days and three nights.* Matt. xii, 40.

* Exod. xii, 18; Lev. xxiii, 32. From which last text it is evident that the Sabbath began at the evening or sunset of the day we term *Friday*, and ended at the same time on the following day.

It is with *time* as with *places*, with respect to its division: it is purely arbitrary. Formerly the Hebrews and Greeks divided the day only according to the *three* sensible differences of the sun, when it *rises*, when it is at the *highest* point of elevation above the horizon, and when it *sets*; that is, they divided the day only into morning, noon, and night. And these are the only parts of a day which we find mentioned in the Old Testament; the day not being yet divided into twenty-four hours. Since that, the Jews and Romans divided the day, that is, the space between the rising and setting of the sun, into *four* parts, consisting each of three hours. But these hours were different from ours in this, that ours are always equal, being always the four-and-twentieth part of the day; whereas with them the hour was a twelfth part of the time which the sun continues above the horizon. And as this time is longer in summer than in winter, their summer hours must, therefore, be longer than their winter ones. The first hour began at sunrising, noon was the sixth, and the twelfth ended at sunset. The third hour divided the space between sunrising and noon; the ninth divided that which was between noon and sunset. And it is with relation to this division of the day that Jesus Christ says in the gospel, "Are there not twelve hours in the day?" John xi, 9.

The Hebrews likewise distinguished between two evenings. The first began at noon, when the sun begins to decline, and reached to its

setting; the second began at that setting; and they call the space of time between these two, that is, from noon to sunset,* *been haarbaeem*, that is, *between the two evenings.*†

The night was likewise divided by the Hebrews into four parts. These were called *watches*, and lasted each three hours. The first is called by Jeremiah *the beginning of the watches*, Lam. ii, 19; the *second* is called in the book of Judges *the middle watch*, Judg. vii, 19; because it lasted till the middle of the night. The beginning of the *third* watch was at midnight, and it lasted till three in the morning; and the *fourth*, Matt. xiv, 25, was called *the morning watch*, Exod. xiv, 24. The first of these four parts of the night began at sunset, and lasted till nine at night, according to our way of reckoning; the second lasted till midnight; the third till three in the morning; and the fourth ended at sunrising. The Scripture sometimes gives them other names; it calls the first *the evening*, the second *midnight*, the third *cockcrowing*, and the fourth the *morning*. Mark xiii, 35.

Secondly. The Hebrews, like us, make their weeks to consist of seven days, six of which are appointed for labour; but they were not

* Or rather "the ninth hour," which is the middle point between them, is what they called "between the evenings." (Lamy, de Tabern. l. vii, c. 7. sec. 1.)

† Exod. xii, 6. בין הערבים "been haarbaeem," improperly translated "in the evening" in our English Bibles.

suffered to do any work on the seventh day, which was, therefore, called *the Sabbath*, that is, *a day of rest*.

The observation of the *Sabbath* began with the world. God, after he had employed six days in making the universe out of nothing, *rested* the seventh day, and, therefore, appointed it to be *a day of rest*. Gen. ii, 2, 3. But this term *Sabbath* is likewise sometimes taken for the whole week. And from hence it is, that the Pharisee, when he would express his fasting twice in a week, says that *he fasted twice every Sabbath*.*

The days of the week have no other names but those of their order, the first, second, third, &c., from the Sabbath; and, therefore, as the Hebrews express *one* and *the first* by the same word, *una sabbati* is with them the first day of the week. But, nevertheless the Hellenist Jews have a particular name for the sixth day, that is, for the virgil of the Sabbath, and call it *paraskeue*, that is, *the preparation*.†

But, beside this *week of days*, the Hebrews had another week, which consisted of *seven years*; the last of which was a year of rest, and was called *the sabbatical year*. The earth rested on this year, and no one was suffered to cultivate it. And at the end of *seven weeks of years*, that is, after forty-nine years, the forty-ninth year was called *the year of jubilee*. Some think it was the fiftieth year, but they are mis-

* Luke xviii, 12. Νηστευω δις του σαββατου.
† Mark xv, 42. Παρασκευη, ο εστι προσαββατον.

taken. It is true that, according to the common manner of speaking in the Scripture, the year of *jubilee* is the fiftieth year; as the *Sabbath day* is called *the eighth day*, reckoning from one Sabbath to another, inclusively of both. And in the same manner the *Olympiads*, which contained the space of four years, are called *quinquennium, the space of five years;* because by one Olympiad was ordinarily understood the space contained between the two Olympiads, with which it began and ended, reckoning the beginning of the latter as included in the former.

Thirdly. It is certain that at first the months were regulated by the *moon;* because the intervals of time are most easily distinguished by the course of this planet. When it is before the sun, it is as it were swallowed up in its rays; but as soon as it begins to separate from it, its crescent begins to show itself, and increases insensibly, till at last its whole disk becomes luminous, and then it is at full; after which its light diminishes, and returns through the same phases to its first crescent, and then it re-enters the rays of the sun.

And as the *moon* regulates the *months*, so does the *sun* the *year;* and the division which we make of the year into twelve months has no relation to the motion of the moon. But it was not so with the Hebrews; their months are *lunar*, and their name sufficiently shows it. They call them *Yarchin*, which comes from *Yarac*, which signifies *the moon*. It is disputed

whether the antediluvian months were not rather regulated by the sun; that is, whether they were not all equal, so that each contained the twelfth part of a year; but learned men are agreed that from the time of Moses the Jewish months have been lunar. They do not reckon the beginning of them from the time that the moon joins the sun, because that planet then disappears; but they begin it at her first *phasis*, as soon as, upon her separation from the sun, she first shows herself in the west, after sunset. And for this reason they call the beginning of the month *the new moon;* though the Latin interpreter, to accommodate himself to the Roman style, calls it *the calends.** The moment in which this conjunction between the sun and moon is made can only be known by an astronomical calculation, because she does not then appear; and because the Hebrews were little skilled in this science, especially at the first forming of their republic. God therefore commands them to begin their months at the first *phasis*, or first appearance of the moon, which required no learning to discover it. And because this first appearance of the moon was of importance in their religion, God having commanded that the *new moon* should be a festival, and that they should offer up a particular sacrifice to him on that day, Num. xxviii, 11; it cannot therefore be improper to give some

* Num. x, 10. Siquando habebitis epulum et dies festos et calendas, &c. See the Vulgate.

account here of the care the Hebrews took to discover this *new moon*.

And, in the first place, this was an affair in which the great sanhedrim was concerned: there were always some of that body who applied themselves to astronomy; and the different *phases* of the moon were likewise painted upon the hall in which the sanhedrim assembled. And, in the second place, it belonged to them to choose men of the strictest probity, who were sent to the tops of the neighbouring mountains at the time of the conjunction; and who no sooner perceived the *new moon*, but they came with all speed, even on the Sabbath day itself, to acquaint the sanhedrim with it. It was the business of that council to examine whether the moon had appeared, and to declare it; which was done by pronouncing these words, *The feast of the new moon, The feast of the new moon;* and all the people were informed of it by the sound of trumpets. To which ceremony David alludes when he says, "Blow the trumpet in the new moon, in the time appointed, on our solemn feast day," Psa. lxxxi, 3. The air is so serene in Judea, that it seldom happened that the clouds hid the moon: but when it did so happen, the error it occasioned was immediately rectified, and not suffered to pass into the next month. The decrees of the sanhedrim on this, as well as on other occasions, were so revered, that the Jews say they ought to be obeyed even when they are mistaken.

From what has been said of the course of the moon, it appears that there are two sorts of months; the one which is regulated by the circle which the moon describes, and takes up twenty-seven days, seven hours, and some minutes, which is called the *periodical* month; and another, which is measured by the space between two conjunctions of the moon with the sun, which is called the *synodical* month, and consists of twenty-nine days, twelve hours, forty-four minutes, and some seconds. This last is the most popular and only in use; because the *phases* of the moon are most proper to distinguish the beginning, middle, and end of it. The hours which exceed nine and twenty days make the months alternately one of nine and twenty days, and one of thirty. Formerly the sanhedrim settled the number of days in each month; but now the Jews follow the common calculation, and their months are one of nine-and-twenty days, and another of thirty.

Fourthly. Nothing now remains upon this subject, but to speak of the Jewish *year*. Concerning which, I shall not enter into the dispute whether they used the solar or the lunar one, because it is certain that they were both in use among them. I only observe that they took a very particular care that the first month of their sacred year, that is, of the year whereby their festivals and religion were regulated, did never expire before the equinox; and that, without this precaution, they would have solemnized the same festivals twice in the same solar

year. So that the equinox was a fixed point, which the Jews made use of to regulate their years by; and they did it in this manner:—

The two equinoxes began each a different year. The new moon, which followed the autumnal equinox, after the fruits were gathered in, began *the civil year;* the common opinion concerning which is, that the world was created in this season, and this was formerly the first month in the Jewish year. But after the Jews came out of Egypt, Moses, to preserve the memory of their deliverance, commanded that the month in which that deliverance was wrought (which was in the time when the earth opens her bosom, and all things begin to bud) should have the first rank; and by this means the vernal equinox began a second year, which was called *the sacred,* or *the ecclesiastical* year. But though these years have different beginnings, yet they both consist of twelve months, which are, according to their order, called the first, second, third, &c. And formerly there was none of them that had any particular name but the two equinoctial ones, and they were called, the vernal one, *Abib,* which signifies *a green ear of corn:* and the autumnal one, *Ethanim.* But about the time of the captivity each month had a particular name. The names were these: the first month, formerly called *Abib,* was called *Nisan;* the second, *Iyar;* the third, *Sivan;* the fourth, *Tamuz;* the fifth, *Ab;* the sixth, *Elul;* the seventh, *Tisri;* the eighth, *Marchesvan;* the ninth, *Cisleu;* the tenth, *Tebeth,*

the eleventh, *Shebat;* the twelfth, *Adar*. Nevertheless, there were some years in which they added a thirteenth month, which was called *Veadar*, or *the second Adar*. Nor were the planets only made use of to distinguish time; it was likewise distinguished by the different seasons which succeeded one another, as well as by them. After the earth has closed up her bosom in the *winter*, she opens it in the *spring*, and brings forth herbs; and then, during the *summer*, the sun warms it, thereby to ripen the corn and fruits, that they may be gathered in before the return of the *winter*. Which difference of the seasons arises from the sun's nearness to or distance from our tropic, according to which it continues more or less time above the horizon.

But, that all this may be the better understood, it is necessary that we briefly explain the first principles of the sphere. Between the poles of the world the astronomers have feigned a circle, which cuts the sphere into two equal parts, and to which they give the name of *the equinoctial*. And at a certain distance from this they have made another line on each side of it, which they call *the tropics;* to which they add a fourth, which they draw from one of these *tropics* to the other, and which cuts *the equinoctial* obliquely in two opposite points; and this they call *the zodiac*. And upon this *zodiac* they have marked out four principal points; two in the places where it touches the *tropics*, and the other two in its sections of *the*

equinoctial; and by this means they explain the length of the year, the difference of the seasons, and the inequality of days and nights; for the year is nothing else but the space of time which the sun takes up in running through *the zodiac.* When it is at the points which cut *the equinoctial*, the days and nights are equal, and we then have *spring* or *autumn.* When it advances toward our pole, and comes to our *tropic*, we then have *summer;* and when it returns back, and, repassing *the equinoctial*, otherwise called *the line*, comes to the other *tropic*, we then have *winter.* Of these four points, the two which touch *the tropics* are called *solstices*, and those which cut *the equinoctial* are called *equinoxes.*

The ancient astronomers thought that the sun took up three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours: which six hours they joined together every fourth year, and, making a day of them, inserted it in the month of February. And the first day of the month was then by the Romans called *the calends;* and they, reckoning backward into the days of the preceding month, called them the *first*, *second*, *third*, &c., *of the calends.* And this additional day being made *the sixth of the calends of March*, and they reckoning on these years two sixth days of these *calends*, this was the reason why the years in which these additional days were inserted were called *bissextile.* So that every four years the month of *February*, which ordinarily consisted of twenty-eight days, had a

day added to it, and was made to consist of twenty-nine. But the astronomers of latter ages, having made more exact observations, have found that the year was not so long by eleven minutes: a difference which, how inconsiderable soever it may appear, did yet introduce a confusion in the seasons of the year in a succession of several ages. So that the *vernal equinox*, which, at the time of the council of Nice, fell on the 20th or 21st day of March, was found to fall, in the sixteenth century, on the tenth or eleventh. For the reason why the *equinox* at any time advances or goes back a day is the difference between the *bissextile* and the common year. And in order therefore to put a stop to this disorder, which in time would have thrown back the month of *April*, in which nature awakes, and begins to dress herself in her vernal ornaments, into the midst of winter, the calendar was reformed about the end of the fifteenth century,* and by retrenching ten days, the *equinoxes* were brought back to the same points they were at, at the council of Nice. And they have likewise retrenched one *bissextile* every hundred years, (which nevertheless continues to be ordinarily placed every fourth year as before,) because that, in the space of four centuries, the eleven minutes every year (as above mentioned) are so far from making four complete days, that

* This was done in the year 1512, during the pontificate of Gregory XII., therefore the "Gregorian," or "New Style."

they make but little more than three; and by this means the points of the *equinoxes* are so fixed for the future, that they can never vary again. The reader will, I hope, pardon this digression, which I make because it may be doubtless of some assistance to those who have not thoroughly studied these matters.

Let us now see by what means the Jews regulated their year so exactly that its first month always came in the spring. There were two reasons that engaged them to be extremely exact in this matter: the one of which was, that the law obliged them to offer up to God a sheaf of ripe barley, or at least of such as was pretty nearly ripe, in this first month; and the other was, that the passover, which fell on the fourteenth day of this month, could not be celebrated without offering up an infinite number of lambs, which it would have been impossible to have had in winter. And it was therefore necessary that this first month, in which the feast of the passover was celebrated, should not be entirely passed before the *vernal equinox*, and that it should always fall in the same season of the year.

In the meantime, twelve lunar months make but three hundred and fifty-four days, eight hours, forty-nine minutes, and some seconds. And consequently this year must be shorter than the solar one by eleven days, some hours, and some minutes. But it has been already said that the Jews regulated their months by the *phases* of the moon, and not by any astro-

nomical calculations. And when therefore their twelfth month was ended, and they found that their spring was not yet come, the next new moon was not made to belong to the first month, but to a thirteenth which they inserted, and therefore called *the intercalary month.* And this they did so exactly, that the full of the moon of the month *Nisan* never came before the *equinox*, that is, before the day when the sun, entering the first degree of *Aries*, makes the days and nights equal.

But, that I may give all the necessary light that is wanting in this affair, I shall observe that the Jews have four sorts of years, or rather that each year has four beginnings. That of the *civil year* was in the month *Tisri;* that of the *sacred year*, in the month *Nisan;* that of *the tithe of the cattle*, in the month *Elul*, that is to say, according to the rabbins, that they began from this month to take an account of all the cattle which were born, that they might offer the tithe of them to God, Lev. xxvii, 32; and, lastly, that of *trees*, which was on the first or fifteenth of the month *Shebat.* For the same rabbins likewise say that the law having commanded that the fruit of a tree newly planted should not be eaten of till after three years, Lev. xix, 23, because the tree was, till that time thought unclean; it is from the last mentioned month that they began to reckon this sort of year.

What I have said concerning these four distinctions relates only to the common year of

the Jews, which, as has been said, consisted of twelve or thirteen lunar months. But, beside this year, they had a second, (as has also been already observed,) which consisted of *seven years*, and was called *sabbatical*. On this year the Jews were not permitted to cultivate the earth. They neither ploughed, nor sowed, nor pruned their vines; and if the earth brought forth any thing of its own accord, these spontaneous fruits did not belong to the master of the ground, but were common to all, and every man might gather them. So that the Jews were obliged during the six years, and more especially in the last of them, wherein they cultivated the earth, to lay up provisions enough to last from the end of the sixth year to the ninth, in which was their first harvest after the *sabbatical year*. Lev. xxv, 1–7.

And as seven common years made the *sabbatical* year, so did seven *sabbatical* years make a third sort of year among them, which was called *the year of jubilee*.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Jewish sacrifices—Their different kinds, and their different ceremonies; and of their offerings, gifts, first fruits, and tenths.

Sacrificing is the offering up to God a living animal, whose blood is shed in adoration of his majesty, and in order to appease his wrath. All the different religions in the world agree in

this point, and have had the same ideas of sacrifice; which uniformity of opinion is very surprising. From whence could it be, that all people should thus universally agree, that the blood of an animal has these two great properties? or how could it come to pass, that the use of sacrifice should thus universally prevail among men? It is commonly said, indeed, that this was a fond conceit, which owes its rise to the barbarity of the Gentiles; and some think that, as to the Jews, they borrowed this custom from the Egyptians, and that it pleased God to leave them to the worship they had seen in Egypt, he being content with barely reforming it. But can it be believed that God would borrow the manner of his worship from a people that were superstitious, and at enmity with him? No: the origin of sacrifices is to be dated much higher. It is derived from the patriarchs,* from Abel, from Noah, and from Abraham, who all offered sacrifices, which the Scripture testifies were acceptable to God.

It may be said that all people had this idea of a sacrifice; they all pretended to substitute the soul of the beast, which is the blood, in room of the criminal soul of the sinner. "The law of sacrifices," say Eusebius, (Demonst. Evang. lib. i, c. 10,) "manifestly shows it; for it commands all those who offer sacrifices to put

* Probably from Adam himself, who was clothed with the skins of beasts, which were most probably slain in sacrifice. Gen. iii, 21. (De Tab. l. iii, c. 7, sec. 1.)

their hands upon the heads of the victims; and when they lead the animal to the priests, they lead it by the head, as it were to substitute it thereby in the room of their own." And upon this is founded the law which forbids the eating of blood; which God himself explains very clearly in the reason he gives for this prohibition: "For," says he, "the life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an atonement for the soul," Lev. xvii, 11. And if then it be true, that God himself commanded the patriarchs to offer sacrifices to him, and if he looked on the blood that was shed in them, as the essence of the sacrifice, who can doubt but that this was done with a view to the blood of Jesus Christ, which was one day to be shed for the redemption of the universe? Adam was no sooner fallen into sin, but God promised him one who should make an atonement for his sin: and as this atonement must be made by the blood of Jesus Christ, it pleased him that the patriarchs, and afterward his own people, should give types of this great sacrifice in those of their victims; and from hence they drew all their virtue. "While men," says the same Eusebius, "had no victim that was more excellent, more precious, and more worthy of God, animals became the price and ransom of their souls. And their substituting these animals in their own room, bore indeed some affinity to their suffering themselves; in which sense it is that all these ancient worshippers and friends

of God made use of them. The Holy Spirit had taught them that there should one day come a victim more venerable, more holy, and more worthy of God. He had likewise instructed them how to point him out to the world by types and shadows. And thus they became prophets, and were not ignorant of their having been chosen out to represent to mankind the things which God resolved one day to accomplish."

So that the first thing we must suppose, in order to explain the *sacrifices* of the ancient law, is, that they were established only that they might typify that sacrifice which Jesus Christ was to offer up. Unless we are prepossessed with this truth, we can look on the tabernacle and temple of Jerusalem only as slaughter houses, whose victims, blood, and fat, are more proper to inspire disgust than religion. And God himself testifies the distaste he had for this immolation of animals, as soon as the Jews came to consider and practise it without a view to Jesus Christ. "To what purpose," says he in Isaiah, i, 11, "is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats." But how then could God reject the sacrifices which he had himself commanded? Could that which pleased him at one time displease him at another? No; we cannot charge him with inconstancy. But we see, by his reproaches,

that when he commanded the sacrifices of the ancient law, he did it not out of any desire *to drink the blood of goats, or eat the flesh of bulls*, as David speaks, Psalm l, 13, but only to typify thereby the great and precious sacrifice which his Son should one day offer up; and that as soon as these sacrifices ceased to be animated by this spirit, (as those did which the carnal Jews offered,) they became insupportable to him.

The end of all religion is *sacrifice;* and there was never any religion without it. As to that of animals, I shall speak of it only so far as is necessary to render those parts of Scripture where they are mentioned intelligible; and shall, therefore, here confine myself to the explaining,—1. What these ancient sacrifices were; 2. How many sorts of animals were used in them; 3. What the manner of offering them was; 4. What ceremonies attended it; 5. Who was the minister; 6. The place; and 7. The time for them; 8. How many sorts of them there were; and 9. What was the manner of partaking of them. All which I shall endeavour to do in a very few words.

1. Sacrificing is the offering up an animal to God, whereby his supreme majesty is acknowledged, sin expiated, and the divine justice rendered propitious. Man by sin merited death; and in order, therefore, to satisfy in some measure the justice of God, he substituted animals in his own room; whose blood never-

theless would have no efficacy in blotting out sin, were it not that it was a type of the precious blood which Jesus Christ has since poured out for us on the cross, and by which he has reconciled us to his Father. So that by the *death* which the victims suffered, and by the *fire* which consumed them, were represented to sinners the two punishments which sin had deserved, namely, *death* and *eternal fire;* and sacrifices were, at the same time, both marks of repentance and pledges of a reconciliation.

2. There were but *five* sorts of animals which could be offered up in sacrifices, and these were *oxen*, *sheep*, *goats*, *turtle doves*, and *pigeons;* which are indeed the most innocent, the most common, and the most proper animals in the world, for the nourishment of men. And among these, great care was taken in the choice of such as were designed for victims; for the least defect that could be discovered in them made them unworthy of God. "If the beast be blind, or broken, or maimed, or having a wen, or scurvy, or scabbed, ye shall not offer these unto the Lord, nor make an offering by fire of them upon the altar unto the Lord," Lev. xxii, 22. Maimonides, in his treatise on this subject, (De Ratione Sacrif.,) gives us a long enumeration of all the defects which pollute an animal; he reckons up *fifty* which are common to beasts and men, and *three-and-twenty* which are peculiar to beasts only, and gives a sort of anatomical account of the parts in which they are found. And what then is

this great purity which God required in the choice of his victims, but another proof that they were only designed to be the figures of Jesus Christ, whose innocence was to be perfect, and the holiness of his sacrifice infinite.

3. He who offered sacrifice led up the victim before the altar; laid both his hands, according to Maimonides, (De Ratione Sacrif. c. iii, n. 13,) but only one, according to other rabbins, upon the head of it, Lev. i, 4, *upon which he leaned with all his strength;* and while the sacrifice was offering up said some particular prayers. If several offered the same victim, they put their hands upon his head one after another; which imposition of hands upon the animal which they were just going to sacrifice, was to show that they loaded him with their iniquities, and that they had deserved the death which he was going to suffer. And hereby the victims of the Old Testament were again the types of Jesus Christ, upon whom were laid the iniquities of mankind, Isa. liii, 6; and they were likewise the symbols of repentance. For which reason, Maimonides adds, (De Ratione Sacrif. c. iii,) concerning the sin-offering, that if he who offered it did not repent and make a public confession of his sins, he was not cleansed by it.

4. The manner of killing the animal was this: they cut through the throat and windpipe at one stroke: and they caught the blood in a basin, which they kept perpetually stirring about, lest it should coagulate before it

had been sprinkled upon the veil, or the altar, or other things, according to the nature of the sacrifice. Lev. iv, 5–7. What blood remained after these sprinklings was poured out at the foot of the altar, either all at once, or at different times, according to the kind of sacrifice that was offered. There was around the altar, as has been observed, a sort of trench, into which the blood fell, and from whence it was conveyed by subterraneous channels, into the brook Cedron; and this altar, which was raised very high, was a representation of the cross to which Jesus Christ was fixed, and which he washed with his precious blood. After these aspersions, they skinned the victim, and cut it in pieces, and carried up the parts of it to the altar in great pomp, by a little hill or ascent to it. The priests, as they went up, lifted up that part of the victim which they carried toward the four parts of the world. (See De Tabern. l. vii, c. vii, sec. 1; Maimon. de Ratione Sacrificii, c. vi, n. 18.) Either the whole victim, or some part of it only, (according to the different sorts of sacrifices,) were burned upon the altar, where the priests maintained a fire always burning, by taking care to be perpetually laying fresh wood upon it.

As they went up to the altar, they salted the victim; for the law forbid the presenting any there which was not salted: and the sacrifices were always attended with libations, which were a mixture of wine and flour. Sometimes they had cakes made of the finest flour and oil,

and incense, which were baked in a pan, or upon a gridiron; and at other times they had such as were only made of parched wheat. One half of these cakes was burned, and the other half belonged to the priests. And all these which I have mentioned, the victim, the wine, the oil, and the cake, are all expressed in the single word *corbanoth*, that is, *gifts offered to God;* and were all either to be consumed, killed, burned, or poured out, with the ceremonies which the law prescribes, or else to be reserved for sacred banquets. Nevertheless, the victims and cakes have different names among the Hebrews; the former of which they called *zebachim*, that is, *sacrifices;* and the latter *mincha*, that is, *offerings*. And the cakes which were made of flour of wheat or barley, and wine, were called *cakes of libation*. All those that were offered at the altar must first have had some oil poured upon them; and incense must likewise have first been put to them, as is expressly commanded in Leviticus, ii, 1. Salt was likewise put in all these cakes; and this is what Virgil calls *salsas fruges*, for the heathen had all these ceremonies. The cakes were burned upon the altar, and the wine poured out at the foot of it; but it was not lawful to put upon the altar either honey or leaven.

5. As to the *ministration* of the sacrifice, any one might kill the victims, and skin them, and cut them in pieces; but the other ceremonies, as those of catching the blood, and

sprinkling it, belonged only to the priests. And in this the law is very express, that he who offers the sacrifice "shall kill it on the side of the altar, and shall cut it in pieces, but that the priests the sons of Aaron shall sprinkle the blood around about the altar," Lev. i, 11, 12. And it may be remarked with Origen, that when Annas, Caiaphas, and the other priests condemned Jesus Christ to death in the sanhedrim, which was in the temple, they then, in that place where the altar was, poured out the precious blood of that innocent victim to whom all the sacrifices of the law referred.

6. Before the building of the temple, the sacrifices were offered up at the entrance into the tabernacle; but after that was built, it was not lawful to offer up anywhere but there, as is commanded by God himself in Deuteronomy, xii, 14; and this law took away from the Jews the liberty of sacrificing in any other place. They might slay their victims in any part of the priests' court that they liked, but not out of it; and they were even obliged to sacrifice the paschal lamb here. And to this prohibition of sacrificing anywhere but in the temple built at Jerusalem, Jesus Christ alludes when he says in St. Luke, "that it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem," Luke xiii, 33; for by this he means not so much as the *types* of the death of *the prophet* could be represented anywhere but in that city. Those victims that were most holy could only be offered up on the north side of the altar.

7. As to the *time* of offering sacrifice, it could only be done by day, and the blood of the animal was always sprinkled the same day that it was killed; for the blood became polluted as soon as the sun was down. But if the sprinkling had been made in the day time, the members and entrails of the victim might be burned all night long.

The *morning sacrifice* was offered as soon as the day began to break, before the sun was above the horizon: and the *evening one*, as soon as darkness began to overspread the earth. The *paschal lamb* was offered between the *two evenings*, that is to say, at the time when the sun begins to decline, about the hour that Jesus Christ expired on the cross, which answers to our three in the afternoon.

8. We come now to the other sorts of sacrifices. One alone was not sufficient to represent the adorable sacrifice of Jesus Christ, whose effects are infinite; and therefore it was necessary the old law should have different sorts of them. Some of them were more, and some of them less holy; but they were all either, 1st, *burnt-offerings*, or 2dly, *sin-offerings*, or 3dly, *trespass-offerings*, or 4thly, *peace-offerings*. Maimonides reduces all the sacrifices of the Jews to these four sorts; which were either offered up by particular persons, or else by the whole people in general: and we shall say something of each.

1st. The *burnt-offering* or *holocaust*, as the word implies, is a sacrifice or victim which is

entirely consumed by fire, together with the intestines and feet, which they took care to wash before it was offered. But it was not so with other sacrifices; a *part* only of them was burned, and the rest divided among the priests and the laymen, who offered the sacrifice. The Hebrews call it *hola*, which signifies *to rise*, because the victim appeared *to rise up* to heaven in a smoke, as *an odour of sweet smell* before God.* It sometimes happened that fire came down from heaven, and miraculously consumed the victim. The reader may likewise find an account of the ceremonies that attended the offering up the *burnt-offering* in Leviticus, i, 5, 6.

2dly. The second sort of sacrifice is called a *sin-offering*. And here we may observe that the words which St. Paul puts into the mouth of Jesus Christ, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, x, 8, "Sacrifice and offering, and burnt-offering, and offerings for sin, thou wouldst not," are not to be understood of God's having refused to accept of the sacrifice which Jesus Christ had offered him for the sins of men, but only that God disliked all the ancient sacrifices, the oblations, the burnt-offerings, and the sin-offerings, which were made to him under the law. This sacrifice was likewise sometimes simply called *sin*; and therefore when it is said that Jesus Christ "was made sin for us,"† we are

* עלה, differently pronounced "olah," "holah," and "gnolah." Lev, i, 3.

† 2 Cor. v, 21. *ὑπερ ἡμων ἁμαρτιαν εποιησεν.* The word *αμαρτια* is used by the *Septuagint* for a "sin-

to understand thereby that he was made a *sin-offering* for us. The Hebrews understood by the word *chatah*, (*sin*,) any voluntary crime, or violation of the law, which was committed through inadvertence, and which God always punished, unless it was expiated. And they were persuaded that several diseases and pains, as leprosy and the pains of child-bearing, were punishments for some sin; and therefore the sacrifices that were offered by lepers, or women after they had lain in, are reckoned among the sin-offerings.

3dly. In order to understand what is meant by the third sort of sacrifices, we must first know what the Hebrews meant by the word *asham*,* which the Latin interpreter renders *delictum*, and signifies a *trespass*, *error*, or *doubt*. They offered this third sort of sacrifice when they had just reason to doubt whether they had broken some precept of the law of God, or not. When they were in this uncertainty they were obliged to offer sacrifice. What the law commands concerning it is this, Lev. v, 17, "If a person sin through ignorance, and does any of those things which the law forbids, and comes to a knowledge of his fault after he has committed it,"† (in the Hebrews it is, "the man

offering" in ninety-four places in Exod., Lev., and Num., which is their translation of the Hebrew חטאה "chatah," and which in all the above places in rendered "sin-offering" in our English Bibles.

* אשם "asham," to be guilty, or liable to punishment.

† According to the Vulgate.

who shall sin, and commit some crimes against any of the commandments of the Lord, though he be not certainly assured of his sin, yet he shall nevertheless look upon himself as guilty of it,") "this man," as the Latin interpreter goes on in the Vulgate, v, 18, "shall present unto the priest a ram of his flock, in proportion to the crime he has committed; and the priest shall pray for him, because he hath sinned through ignorance, and it shall be forgiven him."

4thly. The *peace-offering*, or sacrifice of gratitude, (for the Hebrew word *shelamim* signifies both,) was offered as a thanksgiving, either for having recovered health, or for having received some signal mercy of God, or for the happy state of their affairs; and therefore it was called *eucharistical*.*

But some divide sacrifices into those of *consecration*, which were offered when any one was admitted into the priesthood; those of *purification*, which were offered for women who had lain in and lepers; and those of *expiation*, which were offered for purifying the sanctuary, or temple, or people.

9. Nothing now remains, but to speak of the manner of partaking of the sacrifices; concerning which we must observe that nobody partook of the *burnt-offerings*, because they were entirely consumed by fire: and that in

* שלמים "shelameem," from שלם "shalam," to make whole, complete, to make up a difference between parties, to produce peace.

the other sacrifices the law declares what parts of the victims belonged to the priests, and what parts belonged to those who offered them. Num. xviii, 8, 20. When the sacrifices were of the most holy sort, they were then always obliged to be eaten in the *holy place*, that is, within the courts of the temple, and nobody was admitted to this repast but the Jews, and such only of them as had contracted no legal impurity. And as to the other sacrifices, which were thought less holy, as the *paschal lamb*, it was sufficient to eat them within the walls of Jerusalem, but nowhere else. (Maimonides de Ratione Sacrificiorum, cap. xi, n. 5.)

But beside these sacrifices of animals, there were likewise, as has been said, some oblations among the Jews, which were made of bread, wine, oil, and incense. And of these there were three sorts; namely, 1st, such as were *ordinary* or *common*; 2dly, such as were *free*; and, 3dly, such as were *prescribed*.

1st. The ordinary oblations that were made among them were, 1st, of a certain perfume called *thumiama*, which was burned every day upon the altar of incense; and, 2dly, of the show-bread, which was offered new every Sabbath day, and the old taken away, and eaten by the priests.

2dly. The *free* oblations were either the fruits, 1st, of promises, or 2dly, vows; but the former did not so strictly oblige as the latter. And of vows there were two sorts; 1st, *the vow of consecration*, when they devoted any thing,

either for a sacrifice, or for the use of the temple, as wine, wood, salt, and the like; and 2dly, *the vow of engagement*, when persons engaged themselves to do something which was not in itself unlawful, as not to eat of some particular meat, not to wear some particular habits, not to do such and such innocent things, not to drink wine, nor to cut their hair, not to live longer in any house, and such like. When they made a vow they made use of these forms; *I charge myself with a burnt-offering*, or *I charge myself with the price of this animal, for a burnt-offering*. Beside which, they had likewise other shorter forms; as, for example, when they devoted all they had they only said, *All I have shall be corban*, that is, I make a present of it to God. For the word *corban* signifies a *present* made to God; which is the very same thing that St. Mark says of it, Mark vii, 11, "Corban, (that is to say, a gift,) by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me." The Pharisees taught that as soon as a man had once said this to his parents, as soon as he had pronounced the word *corban*, he thereby consecrated all he had to God, and could not even retain enough to support his father and mother: and therefore Jesus Christ with reason reproaches them with having destroyed by their tradition that commandment of the law which enjoins children to honour their fathers and mothers. The law required an exact performance of these vows, and the things which were thus given to God were reckoned among things

sacred, which nobody could alienate without sacrilege.

3dly. The *prescribed* oblations were either, 1st, the *first fruits*, or 2dly, the *tenths*.

1st. All the *first fruits* of both fruit and animals were due to God. Exod. xxii, 29. Among animals, the males only belonged to God, and they not only had the liberty, but were even obliged to redeem them, in the case of men and unclean animals, which could not be offered up in sacrifice to the Lord. And as to fruits, they were forbidden to begin the harvest till they had offered up to God the *omer*, that is, the new sheaf, the day after the great day of unleavened bread; and were forbidden to bake any bread made of new corn till they had presented the new loaves, on the day of pentecost. Before the offering up of the first fruits all was unclean; after this oblation, all was holy. To which St. Paul alludes in the eleventh chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, ver. 16, when he says, "If the first fruit be holy the lump is also holy." The law commands, says Philo, that, as often as the people make bread, they should lay aside the first fruits for the priests, and this keeps up religion in their hearts; for when they accustom themselves to lay aside something for God, they cannot easily forget him. To which Maimonides adds, that he that ate of his fruits before he had paid the tithe of it was punished with sudden death. And as of fruits and animals, so likewise of oil and wine, the first fruits of them were paid to God. Deut. xvii, 4.

2dly. Beside *first fruits*, the Jews likewise paid the *tenths* of all the fruits of the earth. St. Jerome, in his *Commentary on the Fifty-fourth Chapter of Ezekiel*, divides the *tenths* into four sorts; 1st, such as were paid to the *Levites* by the people, who were forbidden the eating any fruit before this tenth was paid, upon pain of death; 2dly, such as were paid by the *Levites* to the *priests;* 3dly, such as were reserved for the banquets which were made within the verge of the temple, to which the *priests* and *Levites* were invited; and, 4thly, such as were paid every three years, for the support of the poor. If any one had a mind to redeem the tithes he was to pay, he was obliged to pay one-fifth above their real value; and the tithes that belonged neither to the *priests* nor *Levites* were carried to the temple of Jerusalem, from all parts of the world where any Jews were. But the distant provinces converted it into money, which was sent to Jerusalem, and applied to the sacrifices and entertainments, at which the law required gayety and joy. Josephus, who relates this custom, calls this money *consecrated*. And we may say that it was either in order to support this pious custom, or else in order to substitute a more necessary one in the room of this, which was now no longer so, that the apostle took care to send alms to Jerusalem from all parts of the world. The account of it is in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xvi, 1–3, where St. Paul says, "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I

have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come. And when I come, whomsoever you shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem."

CHAPTER V.

Of the Ministers of the Temple, the Priests, Levites, Nazarites, and Rechabites.

The Jews, in the establishment of their republic, had no other king but God himself; and the place appointed for their sacrifices and prayers was at the same time both the temple of their God, and the palace of their sovereign. And hence comes all that pomp and magnificence in their worship, that prodigious number of ministers, officers, and guards; and that very exact order in their functions, which was first established by Moses, and afterward renewed by David with yet greater splendour. The tabernacle was the first palace God had among the Hebrews, and to that the temple succeeded; and the tribe of *Levi* was chosen, if I may so speak, to form his household. And for this reason it was disengaged from all other cares, and absolutely devoted to the service of the altar: but the honour of the priesthood was reserved to the family of Aaron alone, and the rest of the tribe divided only the inferior offices

of the temple among them, so that all the *priests* were indeed *Levites*, but all the *Levites* were not *priests:* nor were the *priests* and *Levites* the only sacred persons among the Jews; and, therefore, in order to comprehend them all, I shall in this chapter speak, 1, of the *Levites;* 2, of the *priests;* 3, of the *officers* of the synagogue; 4, of the *Nazarites;* 5, of the *Rechabites;* 6, of the *patriarchs;* and 7, of the *prophets.*

1. Of the *Levites.* But before I enter into a particular account of their functions I shall say something, 1st, of the estates which God assigned them for their subsistence, in order to free them from the importunate cares of life, which might otherwise have diverted them from his service; 2dly, of their consecration; 3dly, of their age; and then proceed to say something, 4thly, of their functions; 5thly, of their number; 6thly, of such of them as were *officers of the temple;* and, 7thly, of the *Nethinim*, or their servants.

1st. Then, in the division of the land of promise, the *Levites* had not their portion of it; there were only eight-and-forty cities, with their territories assigned them for the support of their cattle, and thirteen of these came to share with the priests. And these are all the possessions the *Levites* had; but to make them amends for that the other tribes paid them the tithe of all their estates, and they paid the tenths of that to the *priests.* And beside this, the *priests* had likewise the first fruits and a

considerable part of the offerings that were made to God. All which may be seen in the book of *Numbers*, chap. xviii.

2dly. As to the admittance of the *Levites* into the ministry, birth alone did not give it to them; they were likewise obliged to receive a sort of consecration. "Take the Levites from among the children of Israel," says God to Moses, "and cleanse them. And thus shalt thou do unto them, to cleanse them; sprinkle water of purifying upon them, and let them shave all their flesh, and let them wash their clothes, and so make themselves clean. Then let them take a young bullock," &c. Num. viii, 6, 7, 8; Exod. xxix, 1–37.

3dly. Nor was any *Levite* permitted to exercise his functions, till after he had served a sort of novitiate for five years, in which he carefully learned all that related to his ministry. Maimonides, who gives an account of this custom, thereby reconciles two places in Scripture which appear contrary to one another: for it is said in the book of *Numbers*, in one place, Num. iv, 3, that the *Levites* were not admitted into the service of the temple till they were thirty years old, and in another, Num. viii, 24, that they were admitted at twenty-five. The last of which two ages shows the time when they began their probation, and the other, the time when they began to exercise their functions. So that the *Levites* were at the full age of a man when they were admitted into their office; and at the age of fifty they were dis-

charged from it. But this rabbin pretends that this discharge was only granted in the wilderness, because the tabernacle often changed place, and the removal of it being troublesome and laborious, required young men to do it; and that when the tabernacle was fixed, age was no dispensation for the *Levites* to quit the exercise of their offices.

4thly. As to their functions; Moses is very particular in giving an account of what each *Levite* was to carry, upon the removal of the tabernacle, Num. iv; but these offices subsisting no longer, after the conquest of the land of Canaan, David established a new order among the *Levites*, whereby some were appointed to guard the gates, 1 Chron. ix, 17–26, and xxvi, some to sing psalms, 1 Chron. xxv, and some to guard the treasures, 1 Chron. ix, 29; and he likewise divided them into different classes, of which Maimonides reckons twenty-four; and each of these was to serve a whole week. The head of each of these classes divided those who were under him into different families, and chose out every day a certain number of them who were to serve for that day; and the heads of these families assigned every one his office, But the *Levites* were not permitted to do any thing that was to be done about the altar.

5thly. The number of these *Levites*, upon the account that was taken of those who were thirty years of age, in Solomon's time, was thirty-eight thousand, 1 Chron. xxiii, 3; and thence we may judge of the magnificence of

the house of God, in which there were so many officers. "Of which," says the Scripture, "twenty and four thousand were to set forward the work of the house of the Lord; and six thousand were officers and judges. Moreover four thousand were porters, and four thousand praised the Lord with the instruments, and David divided them into courses," 1 Chron. xxiii, 4, 5, 6. To which the Scripture adds, "For by the last words of David the Levites were numbered from twenty years old and above: because their office was to wait on the sons of Aaron, for the service of the house of the Lord, in the courts, and in the chambers, and in the purifying of all holy things, and the work of the service of the house of God; both for the show bread, and for the fine flour for meat-offering, and for the unleavened cakes, and for that which is baked in the pan, and for that which is fried, and for all manner of measure and size; and to stand every morning to thank and praise the Lord, and likewise at even, and to offer all the burnt-sacrifices unto the Lord, in the Sabbaths, in the new moons, and on the set feasts," &c. 1 Chron. xxiii, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31. And,

6thly. The gospel likewise tells us that there were *officers* in the temple: and the name St. Luke gives them signifies *officers of war*;* so that we may on this account also look on the temple as a camp. Beside the general officer, Maimonides reckons up fifty subalterns, (in this

* Luke xxii, 52. στρατηγοι του ιερου.

treatise called *Chelim*, chap. vii,) whose business it was to give notice of the time for the solemnities, the day and hour of the sacrifices, and to set the guard. Beside which, they had likewise the charge of the music, the instruments, the table in which every one's office was set down according as it had fallen to him by lot, the seals, the libations, the sick, the waters, the show bread, the perfumes, the oils, and the sacerdotal habits. But to give the greater light to all this, I will repeat what Maimonides has said of it, which will make the reader more and more admire the magnificence of the house of God. 'Every officer (says he) had under him several persons, who executed his orders in every thing that related to his charge. He, for example, who was to mark the time, caused the hours to be reckoned, and when that of the sacrifice was come, either he or some of his men cried with a loud voice, "To the sacrifice, ye priests; to the tribune,* ye Levites; and to your ranks, ye Israelites;" and then immediately every one prepared himself to set about his duty. He who had the care of the gates ordered when they should be shut, and when opened; and the trumpets which gave notice that the gates were going to be opened could not sound till they had his orders. The officer of the guard took his rounds at night, and if he found any of the Levites on guard asleep, he either caned him or burned his vests. The superintendent of the music every

* Music gallery.

day chose the musicians who were to sing the hymns, and gave orders to the trumpets to give notice of the sacrifices. The masters of the instruments delivered them out to the Levites, and appointed what instruments should every day be used. And he who had the charge of the table made the priests draw lots, and assigned every one his office." (In *Chelim*, chap. vii.) If the reader has a mind to see more of this, I refer him to the book itself; and shall only add here, that there was another office beside these, whose business it was to take care of the priests that fell sick, which often happened. For, as they wore nothing but a single tunic, and drank no wine, and were obliged to go barefoot in the temple, which was paved with marble, they were very subject to the colic. But I must not forget to observe here, that David chose out two hundred and eighty-eight Levites to be masters of music, and teach the others to sing, 1 Chron. xxv, 7; so that as there were four-and-twenty courses of singers, each class had twelve masters; and in their performances they mixed both voices and instruments together.

7thly and lastly. As the priests had the Levites under them, so had the Levites also others under them, whose business it was to carry the water and wood that was used in the temple. Joshua at first made use of the Gibeonites, Josh. ix, 3–27, for this purpose; and afterward other nations were employed in it; and called *Nethinim*, (Ezra viii, 20. See De Tabern. l. vii, c. iii, sec. 4,) that is, persons who had *given them-*

selves up, from the Hebrew *Nathan*, which signifies to *give*.

From the consideration of the *Levites* we proceed now,

II. To that of the *priests*. In which we shall mention, 1st, their order; 2dly, their election; 3dly, their manner of life; 4thly, their laws; 5thly, their functions; 6thly, their habits; 7thly, the consecration of the high priest; 8thly, his succession; and 9thly, his dress.

1st. The order that was observed among the priests was this: they were divided, as we have seen, into four-and-twenty classes, each of which had its head, who was called *the prince of the priests*. Every week one of these classes went up to Jerusalem to perform the offices of the priesthood, and every Sabbath day they succeeded one another, till they had all taken their turns: but on the solemn feasts they all assembled there together. The prince of each class appointed an entire family every day to offer the sacrifices, and at the close of the week they all joined together in sacrificing. And as each class had in it different families, and each family consisted of a great number of priests, they drew lots for the different offices which they were to perform. And it was thus that the lot fell on Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, "to burn incense when he went into the temple of the Lord," Luke i, 9.

2dly. From considering their order, we proceed to consider the manner in which the priests were chosen, and the defects which excluded

them from the priesthood. Among the defects of body which rendered them unworthy of the sacerdotal functions, Lev. xxi, 16, 24, the Jews reckon up *fifty* which are common to men and other animals, and *ninety* which are peculiar to men alone. (De Tabern. lib. iii, c. ix, sec. 3.) The priest whose birth was polluted with any profaneness was clothed in black, and sent out without the verge of the priests' court; but he who was chosen by the judges appointed for that purpose was clothed in white, and joined himself to the other priests. And I know not whether St. John does not allude to this custom when he says, "He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life," Rev. iii, 5. They whose birth was pure, but who had some defect of body, lived in those apartments of the temple wherein the stores of wood were kept, and were obliged to split and prepare it for keeping up the fire of the altar.

3dly. All the time the priests were performing their offices, both wine and conversation with their wives were forbid them. Exod. xix, 15; Lev. x, 8–11. And they had no other food but the flesh of their sacrifices and the show bread. They performed all their offices standing, (Maim. de Ratione adeundi Templ. c. v,) and barefoot and with their heads covered, Lev. x, 6; xxi, 10, and feet washed. Exod. xxx, 19.

4thly. The laws which God laid upon the priests are these: "God said unto Aaron

not drink wine nor strong drink, thou nor thy sons with thee, when ye go into the tabernacle of the congregation, lest ye die," Lev. x, 8, 9. "The priests shall not be defiled for the dead among his people, but for his kin," Lev. xxi, 1, 2. "They shall not take a wife that is a whore, or profane; neither shall they take a woman put away from her husband," Lev. xxi, 7. "The daughter of any priest, if she profane herself by playing the whore, she profaneth her father, she shall be burned with fire," Lev. xxi, 9.

5thly. As to the functions of the priests: their business was to keep up the fire upon the altar of burnt-offerings, that it might never go out, Lev. vi, 13; (Maim. de Ratione Sacrif. c. v, n. 7;) to guard the sacred vessels; to offer the sacrifices; to wash the victims; to make the aspersions, whether of blood or water, upon the persons offering the victims, or the book of the law; to burn the incense upon the altar;* to dress the lamps; to put the new show-bread upon the table, and to take away the old. And to them only it belonged to catch the blood of the victims, and sprinkle it upon the altar. (De Tab. sec. 5; Exod. xxx, 7; 2 Chron. xxvi, 16–19.) Such as were of the sacerdotal race, and were excluded from the priesthood on account of any defect, had the care of cleaving the wood which was burned upon the altar; for they were very nice in choosing it, and thought it unlawful to use any

* This was the first business of the day. (De Tab. l. vii, c. vi, sec. 2, 3.)

there which was rotten or worm-eaten. All the officers just now mentioned were in common to the priests and high priests; but beside them there was a particular one, annexed to the latter dignity only, and that was, that the high priest alone went into the holy of holies once a year on the day of expiation, and he alone could offer up the sacrifice which was then prescribed, both for his own sins and those of all the people.

6thly. As to the names and forms of the sacerdotal habits, we find them in Exodus xxviii, and Leviticus, viii. Those that were common to all the priests, were,—1st, linen drawers; 2dly, the linen robe, which was so straight that it had no fold in it; 3dly, the girdle; and 4thly, the tiara, which was a sort of bonnet or turban, made of several rolls of linen cloth twisted around about the head.

7thly. All the priests had over them a high priest, whose habits were different from theirs, and who was consecrated with some particular ceremonies. At the time of his consecration, they poured a precious oil upon his forehead, Lev. xxi, 10, and this unction was made in the form of the Greek letter X. Maimonides tells us that this was not observed in the second temple, and that the high priest was then no otherwise consecrated than by the pontifical habits which he wore. But when it was observed, it was done in such plenty, that we are not to wonder if the holy oil, which was poured upon his forehead, ran down on all sides

upon the beard of the high priest; to which the psalmist refers when speaking of a precious perfume, he compares it with that which was used at Aaron's consecration. Psa. cxxxiii, 2.

8thly. The high priesthood, as to its succession, descended by inheritance, and belonged to the eldest. In its first institution, it was for life; but from the time that the Jews became subject to the Greeks and Romans, the duration of this venerable office depended upon the will of the princes or governors. And under the Asmonean princes there was another considerable alteration made in this office. It then went out of the family of Aaron, and, passing into that of Judas Maccabeus, came into a private Levitical family; as appears from the catalogue which Josephus has given us of the high priests. (See De Tabern. l. vii, c. v, sec. 7; Joseph. Ant. b. xx, c. x, and x, c. viii, s. 6.) There could not be two high priests at once; but they chose a sort of vicar general, who supplied their places in their absence, and had the precedence before all other priests. The Hebrews gave him the name of *sagan*, and he sat at the right hand of the high priest. And, therefore, some think that Caiaphas was high priest, and Annas his sagan, and that this is the reason why Jesus Christ was brought before them both. Luke iii, 2.

9thly. As to the habits peculiar to the high priests, the first we shall speak of is that which the Hebrew text calls *mehil*. The Greek

interpreters have once rendered it by ποδήρης,* which signifies a garment that reaches down to the feet; and this is the word which Josephus also makes use of. But as the same Greek interpreters sometimes render it by other words, I am of opinion that the *mehil* was not so long; it might be a shorter sort of garment.

Upon the border of this garment, whatever it was, there were, instead of a fringe, seventy-two golden bells, and as many pomegranates; and if then this garment had reached down to the ground, it would not only have hidden the *tunic*, or linen *alb*, which the high priest wore under it, and which he had in common with the other priests, but these pomegranates and bells would likewise have lost their sound. And, therefore, the *mehil* may be said to have been called *podéres*, because it came down *almost* to the *feet*. The colour of it was purple; and under it was the tunic, or linen alb,† which was common to all the priests. This linen was very fine, and twisted, so that the tunic was not woven close, but open; and there was raised work, and hollows, and figures in it;

* Exod. xxviii, 4. מְעִיל from עָלָה "alah," to "go up," was probably so called from being a sort of outer, or upper coat. Josephus says, "It reached down to the feet, and was not made of two distinct pieces sewed together at the shoulders and sides, but was one entire long garment, woven throughout." (Antiq. b. iii, c. vii, s. 4.) Our Lord's coat, mentioned John xix, 23, appears to have been precisely the same with the "mehil." The English translators call it "the robe."

† English, a "broidered coat."

and its extremities reached down to the ground.

2ndly. And beside this, the high priest wore another sort of garment, which is like a waistcoat without sleeves, and which is by the Hebrews called an *ephod*, and by the Latins *superhumerale*, because it was fastened upon the *shoulders*. (And they likewise gave the name of ephod to another garment something like this, which laymen were permitted to wear, as appears from David's being said to have been dressed in a *linen ephod*. 2 Sam. vi, 14.) Upon each shoulder he had also a precious stone, in which were engraven the names of the children of Israel; in that on the right shoulder were the names of the six eldest, and in that on the left, those of the six youngest. And he had upon his breast a square piece of stuff, Exod. xxviii, 15–30, of the dimensions of the Hebrew *zereth*, that is, about half a cubit. The Hebrews call it *hoschen*, that is, the *breastplate*, because it was worn upon the breast; but the Greek call it *logion*, and the Latins, from them, *rationale*, and from these latter comes the French term *rational*. The Greek word may be translated by this Latin one; but I think it would be better rendered *oraculum*, because this was as it were the *oracle* by which God gave his answers: for the high priest, when he would consult God on any occasion, put on this ornament upon his breast, and God answered him in the manner we are going to relate. There were upon the breast-

plate twelve precious stones, upon which were likewise engraven the names of the twelve sons of Jacob; and upon it were also the Urim and Thummim. The first of these words signifies *lights* or *knowledge*, and the other *truth* or *perfection;* and the Jews pretend that they were two *sacred signs*, by which God made known his will; and when they ceased to appear it was no longer known what they were. All that is certain concerning this opinion is, that the word *urim* signifies *lights;* and perhaps it was so called because these precious stones shone with an extraordinary and miraculous fire. So that the Urim and Thummim were something more than barely two words engraven on the breastplate; and, indeed, we often find in Scripture that God was consulted by Urim. Deut. xxxiii, 8; Num. xxvii, 21; 1 Sam. xxviii, 6.

3dly, and lastly. The high priest wore likewise a plate of gold upon his forehead, on which were engraven these two words, *Kodesch layhovah*, that is, *Holy to the Lord.* It was tied with a purple or blue riband to his tiara, which was made of linen, like those of the other priests, and was only distinguished from them by this plate and riband.

III. Next to the priests and Levites, the *officers of the synagogue* ought to find a place in this chapter. They were in some sort sacred persons, since they had the superintendence of those places which were set apart for prayer and instruction. They were of several sorts;

some of them being *presidents*, whom the Greeks call *princes of the synagogue*, and the Hebrews *heads of the congregation*.* These were men advanced in age, men of letters and understanding, and of known probity. The Hebrews call them *chocamim*, that is, *sages* or *wise men;* and their authority was considerable. They were judges of pecuniary matters, of thefts, damages, and such like; and St. Paul doubtless alludes to them in the sixth chapter of his First Epistle to the Corinthians, verse 5, when he reproaches the Christians with carrying their differences before the tribunals of the Gentiles, as if they had no persons among themselves who were capable of judging them. "Is it so," says he "that there is not a *wise man* among you? no, not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren?" And these had likewise the power of punishing those whom they judged to be rebellious against the law; and hence it is, that our Lord forewarns his disciples, that "they should be scourged in the synagogues," Matt. x, 17. Beside these *presidents* or *princes of the synagogue*, there was likewise in every synagogue a sort of *minister*, who read the prayers, directed the reading of the law, and preached, and was called *chazan*, that is, an inspector of bishops.†

* These are in the New Testament called Αρχισυναγωγοι or "rulers of the synagogue." Mark v, 35; Luke viii, 41.

† He that read the prayers and gave the blessing in the synagogues was, according to Dr. Prideaux, a different officer from the chazan, and was called

And to this minister were joined other officers, who had the care of the poor, and collected the alms; and these were called *parnasim*, that is, pastors and rectors. As to the reading of the law in the synagogues, it was always done in Hebrew,* and this made it necessary, as soon as that language ceased to be their mother tongue, to establish an interpreter, whom the Jews call *targumista*. And by this means the doctor who explained the law in Hebrew came to have an interpreter always by him, in whose ears he softly whispered what he said, and this interpreter repeated aloud to the people what had been thus whispered to him. This, Lightfoot plainly proves in his *Horæ Talmudicæ;* and this Jesus Christ had in view when he said to his disciples, "What ye hear in the ear, that proclaim ye upon the housetops," Matt. x, 27. But the synagogues were not only places set apart for prayer, they were also schools where the young were taught. The *sages*, for so the masters were called, sat upon

"sheliach zibbor," or "the angel of the church;" whence it is that the bishops are called (Rev. i) "angels of the churches." The chazan, according to him, was an inferior officer, whose business was to take care of the books and other utensils; a sort of deacon, such as the parnasim are here said to be. And to such a one as is called a "minister," our Saviour gave the books when he had done reading in the synagogue. Luke iv, 20. (Connec. part i, b. vi. Under the year 444, p. 307, 306 of the fol. edit.)

* Of the manner of reading the Scripture in the synagogue, see Prid. Con. part i, b. vi. Under the year 444, p. 306 of the fol. edit.

benches, and the young men sat *at their feet;* which is the reason St. Paul says he learned the law *at the feet of Gamaliel.* Acts xxii, 3. We shall now add an account of such as distinguished themselves from the people by the holiness of their lives ; and such were,

4thly. The *Nazarites,* or, as some called them, *Nazareans ;* which is a Hebrew word, and signifies *separated.* God himself is the author of this kind of life.* From the moment that they devoted themselves to it, they abstained from all sorts of liquors that could intoxicate, and never cut their hair afterward till the day that their vow ended. And of these there were two sorts: 1st. *Nazarites by birth,* as were Samson and John the Baptist ; and, 2dly. *Nazarites by vow and engagement.* The latter followed this kind of life only for a time, after which they cut off their hair at the door of the tabernacle. Maimonides observes (in his treatise of the *Nazareate*) that there were sometimes some zealous persons who voluntarily defrayed the expenses which were necessary for cutting off the hair of one or more Nazarites, after they had offered the necessary sacrifices, when the time of their vows was expired. This may serve to explain that passage in the twenty-first chapter of the Acts, which some persons misunderstand, in thinking that St. Paul is there spoken of, as having

* In the sixth chapter of Numbers you have an account of the qualifications of the Nazarites and their austerities.

made a vow to become a Nazarite. But the true sense of the chapter is this: the apostles advised St. Paul to bear the necessary expenses of four Nazarites, in order to remove the opinion the people had received of him, that he despised the law of Moses. Now they that bore these expenses were obliged to purify themselves: and, therefore, St. Paul appointed a day, whereon he would (after the time of the vow was past) pay the money that was necessary to buy the victims that were to be offered up on this occasion; in order thereby to undeceive the Jews concerning the reports that had been spread about him.*

5thly. The *Rechabites*, like the Nazarites, separated themselves from the rest of the Jews, in order to lead a more holy life.† Jeremiah describes the life and customs of the Rechabites in the thirty-fifth chapter of his prophecy, verses 5–7, thus: "I set," says he, "before the sons of the house of the Rechabites pots

* Not that this is so to be understood, with Petit, as to imply that St. Paul had no vow upon himself; it is to me very evident, from Acts xviii, 18, that he had *a vow* upon himself, (which he made at Cenchrea, and, therefore, *shaved* himself there, by way of initiation into it, as all those who made vows, or were Nazarites, did,) as well as assisted the others in defraying the expenses of their vows. (See Lamy De Tabern. l. vii, c. iii, sec. 2.)

† The Rechabites' manner of living was not only *a matter of religion*, but also a *civil ordinance* grounded upon a national custom. They were Kenites or Midianites, who used to live in tents, as the Arabians still do. Hab. iii, 7. (Mede's Works, p. 127.)

full of wine, and cups, and I said, Drink ye wine. But they said, We will drink no wine, for Jonadab the son of Rechab our father commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye nor your sons, for ever. Neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any." This Rechab, the father of Jonadab, lived under Jehu, king of Israel, in the time of the Prophet Elisha. 2 Kings x, 15. These Rechabites lived in tents, and flourished about a hundred and fourscore years. But after the captivity they were dispersed, unless the *Essenes*, of whom we have spoken before, (see page 250,) succeeded them. It is certain that they followed the same kind of life.

6thly. Among the number of sacred persons we may likewise put the *patriarchs*. Such were Adam, Noah, Abraham, and the rest, since they did the offices of priests, offered sacrifices, and taught religion at home and abroad, in proportion to the light they received from God.

7thly. The *prophets* are also of this number, and were raised up in an extraordinary manner for the performance of the most holy functions. They were at first called *seers*, they discovered future things, they declared the will of God, and spoke to both kings and people with a surprising confidence and freedom. Prophecy was not always annexed to the priesthood: there were prophets of all the tribes, and sometimes even among the Gentiles, Num. xi:

and the office of a prophet was not only to *foretell* what should afterward come to pass, it was their business likewise to *instruct* the people, and they interpreted the law of God; insomuch that the word *prophet* sometimes signifies an *interpreter* or *teacher*. But of both *patriarchs* and *prophets* we have already spoken. (See pages 25–38, and page 178.)

CHAPTER VI.

The Jewish Confession of Faith—Doctrine of Original Sin—Opinion of the Messiah's Kingdom.

Nothing more facilitates the understanding of an author than the knowing what ends he proposed to himself in writing; and we can never well understand what these views were, unless we know what were the dispositions, sentiments, and customs of those for whom he wrote. For an author always adapts his discourse to all these things; he either touches upon them transiently, or he maintains them, or he refutes them. And from hence it is easy to perceive how useful it is, in order to understand the gospel and apostolical epistles, to know what were the opinions and usages of the Jews, at the time when the authors of the New Testament wrote. By Jewish opinions, I do not mean the precepts and doctrines of the law, but certain traditions which they pretend were left them by their fathers, which are now

found in the Talmud, and which the Jews, who are strict adherents to their customs and ceremonies, do yet observe to this day.

The confession of faith which contains these traditions consists of thirteen articles, but they are not all equally ancient. The ninth, which declares that the law of Moses cannot be abolished by any other law, was evidently drawn up against the Christian religion. This confession of faith, as represented by Buxtorf in his treatise *de synagoga Judica*, is as follows :—

" 1. I firmly believe, that God, blessed be his name for ever, is the Creator and the Master of all things ; and that every thing was, is, and will be made for him alone.

" 2. I firmly believe, that this Creator of all things, blessed be his name for ever, is one, by a unity peculiar to himself, and that he alone has been, is, and will be our God.

" 3. I firmly believe, that this Creator, blessed be his name for ever, is not corporeal, nor can in any manner whatsoever be conceived to be corporeal, and that there is nothing in the world that is like him.

" 4. I firmly believe, that the Creator, blessed be his name for ever, is eternal, and that he is the beginning and end of all things.

" 5. I firmly believe, that the Creator, blessed be his holy name for ever, ought alone to be worshipped, exclusive of any other being.

" 6. I firmly believe, that all the words of the prophets are true.

"7. I firmly believe, that all the prophecies of Moses our master (may his soul rest in peace!) are true, and that he is superior to all the sages who went before or came after him.

"8. I firmly believe, that the law which we have now in our hands was given by inspiration to Moses.

"9. I firmly believe, that this law will never be changed, and that the Creator, blessed be his holy name, will never give another.

"10. I firmly believe, that the Creator, blessed be his holy name, knows all the actions and all the thoughts of men, as it is said, 'He hath formed the hearts of all men, and is not ignorant of any of their works,' Psa. xxxiii, 15.

"11. I firmly believe, that the supreme Creator rewards those who keep his law, and punishes those who break it.

"12. I firmly believe, that the Messiah must come, and though his coming be delayed, I will always expect it, till it does appear.

"13. I firmly believe, that the dead will rise at the time appointed by the Creator, whose name be blessed, and his glory magnified throughout all ages, to all eternity."

The Jews were so strictly attached to the worship of the true God, long before the birth of Jesus Christ, that no remains of their former inclination to idolatry were observed in them;*

* The true reason why the Jews were so prone to idolatry before the Babylonish captivity, and why they

and, therefore, neither Jesus Christ nor his apostles cast any reproaches upon them on that account. But because they received several other doctrines, which it is of some importance to know, beside those contained in these thirteen articles, I shall, therefore, give an account of them, beginning with that which relates to the birth of man.

The rabbins acknowledge that there is in man a fund of corruption; and the Talmud speaks of original sin thus :—" We ought not to be surprised that the sin of Eve and Adam was so deeply engraven, and that it was as it were sealed with the king's signet, that it might be thereby transmitted to all their posterity ; it was because all things were finished the day that Adam was created, and he was the perfection and consummation of the world; so that when he sinned all the world sinned with him. We partake of his sin, and share in the punishment of it, but not in the sins of his descendants."

The rabbins teach that the wounds which were made in man by sin will be cured by the Messiah ; but they say there will be two Messiahs, one of which shall be put to death, and the other shall appear with glory. As to the

were so cautiously fixed against it ever after that captivity, plainly appears to be this, that they had the law and the prophets read to them every week in their synagogues after the captivity, which they had not before; for they had no synagogues till after it. (Prid. Con. part i, b. vi,—under the year 444, p. 559 of the 8vo edition.)

time of his coming, they acknowledge that their fathers believed that the space which the world was to last was *six thousand* years; that of these God appointed *two thousand* for the law of nature, *two thousand* for the law of Moses, and *two thousand* for the Messiah; and that, according to this account, the Messiah must have come much about the same time that Jesus Christ was born and died: but, say they, the iniquities of men, which are increased *ad infinitum*, have obliged God to let a great part of this last two thousand years pass away, before the coming of the Messiah. And they now forbid the making of any computation of the years of his coming.

The Jews hate all the rest of mankind; they even think themselves obliged to kill them, unless they submit to the precepts given to Noah; and nobody is with them their *neighbour* but an Israelite.* And what praises soever they may give to the law of Moses, yet they think it lawful for them to break it to save their lives. They seldom make use of the name of God in their oaths: when they do, it makes them inviolable: but when they swear by the creatures, they do not look on those as sacred; nor do they make any scruple of breaking them:

* As this is an avowed sentiment of all the ancient and modern Jews, (see page 262,) we may see how dangerous it would be to permit them to have any rule or influence in any nation under the sun. Had they strength and authority, their career would be like that of Mohammed; every man must be butchered who would not submit to be circumcised.

and this gave occasion to Jesus Christ and his apostles to forbid the use of all sorts of swearing, Matt. v, 34, in order thereby to correct that horrid abuse of oaths which was common among the Jews, when the name of God was not in them.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Hebrew talent, and how to reduce it into English money.

Before the value of any number of talents of gold can be found in sterling money, at the rate the gold in Great Britain is now valued at, which is 21 shillings the guinea, this must be premised, viz., that the learned Dr. Prideaux, dean of Norwich, in his valuation of a talent of gold, makes it sixteen times the present value of a talent of silver; and, according to that valuation, one pound weight of pure gold is only equal in value to sixteen pounds weight of silver that has eighteen pennyweights of alloy in each pound weight of it, and so the gold is 4*l.* an ounce, which, indeed, is the present value of an ounce of *pure* gold; but forasmuch as the standard for the gold coin of Great Britain is twenty-two carats, fine, *i. e.*, the twelfth part of every ounce of it is alloy, and so an ounce of it is of less value than 4*l.* sterling.

The best way to find the present value of one

ounce, or any other quantity, is by the rule of three direct proportion, to say,

As 5*dw.* 9*gr.* is to 21*s.* so is 1*oz.* to 78.1394*s.*

Note, five pennyweights, nine grains, is the exact weight of one guinea. And as five pennyweights, nine grains, is in proportion to twenty-one shillings, so is one ounce, troy weight, in proportion to 78.1394*s.*, *i. e.*, 3*l.* 18*s.* $1\frac{2}{3}d.$ sterling; and so much one ounce troy, of the coined gold of Great Britain is worth, at the rate of twenty-one shillings the guinea. But a crown, which is one ounce troyweight, is better worth five shillings sterling, than an ounce of the gold coin of Great Britain is worth 3*l.* 18*s.* $1\frac{2}{3}d.$ sterling, because one-twelfth of the gold coin is alloy, and there is not so much in the silver coin.

Now to find the present value of any number of Hebrew talents of gold, this is the rule :—

Multiply 78.1394*s.* (the present value of an ounce troy of the gold coin of Great Britain) by 1800 ounces troy, (the weight of a Hebrew talent,) and the product will be the value of that talent in shillings sterling, or in shillings and part of a shilling sterling; then multiply the product by the number of talents, the next or second product will be the value of all the talents in shillings sterling, or in shillings and part of a shilling sterling: divide the second product by twenty, (the shillings in the pound sterling,) and the quotient will be the present value of all the talents in pounds ster-

ling, or in pounds sterling and part of a pound sterling. And so the present value of the hundred and twenty talents of gold which it is said, 1 Kings x, 10, the queen of Sheba gave to King Solomon, will be found to be 843905.52*l.*, *i. e.*, eight hundred forty-three thousand nine hundred and five pounds, ten shillings, and four pence three farthings sterling.

For if 78.1394*s.* be multiplied by 1800 ounces, the product will be 140650.92*s.* which multiplied by 120, the next product will be 16878110.40*s.* which divided by 20*s.* the quotient will be 843905.52*l.*, equal to 843,905*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$*q.* sterling.

It is said that "King Solomon made two hundred targets of beaten gold; six hundred shekels of beaten gold went to one target," 2 Chron. ix, 15. "King Solomon made likewise three hundred shields of beaten gold; three hundred shekels of gold went to one shield," 2 Chron. ix, 16.

To find the value of two hundred targets, I consider that one target is one-fifth of the weight of a talent; for a talent is 3000 shekels, and a target is but 600, which is the fifth of 3000, therefore one of the targets of gold is but one-fifth the value of a talent of gold: and so this will be the rule:—

Divide 140650.920 (*i. e.*, the shillings sterling that are equal to one talent of gold) by five, the quotient will be 28130.184*s.* (*i. e.*, the value of one target,) which multiply by 200,

(the number of the targets,) the product will be the value of the two hundred targets in shillings sterling; divide the product by 20*s.* the quotient will be the value of the 200 targets in pounds and part of a pound sterling, viz., 281301.84*l.* equal to 281,301*l.* 16*s.* 9½*d.* See the operation following :—

Example.

5) 140650.920*s.* equal to one talent of gold.

Quotient, 28130.184*s.* equal to one target of gold.
200 targets.

Product, 5626036.800*s.* equal to two hundred targets.
20) 5626036.80*s.*

Quotient, 281301.84*l.* equal to 281,301*l.* 16*s.* 9½*d.*

To find the value of the 300 shields of gold, each containing 300 shekels, equal to one-half of a target, the rule is :—

Multiply 14065.092*s.* (*i. e.*, the value of one shield, equal to half the value of one target,) by 300, (the number of shields,) the product will be the value of the 300 shields in shillings and part of a shilling sterling : divide the product by 20, the quotient will be the pounds and part of a pound sterling that are equal in value to the 300 shields, viz., 210976.38*l.*, equal to 210,976*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* See the operation following :—

Example.

14065.092*s.* the value of one shield.
300 shields.

Product, 4219527.600*s.* equal to 300 shields.

20) 4219527.600*s.*

Quotient, 210976.38*l.* equal to 210,976*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.*

In 1 Kings x, 14, we are told that the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year, was 666 talents. And by the preceding rule the reader will find that this annual income amounted to 4,683,675*l.* 12*s.* 8½*d.* sterling.*

CHAPTER VIII.

Some Account of the Ancient Samaritans.

As the history of this singular people is so intimately connected with that of the *ancient Israelites*, it may not be improper to give a short account of them in this place.

About the year of the world 3295, 709 before the Christian era, *Sennacherib*, king of Assyria, having failed in his attempt upon

* These calculations, in which I have followed Mr. Reynolds, ("State of the greatest King," &c., p. 58) will be found materially to differ from those of the Abbe' Fleury, in pp. 218, 219, of this work; but as they appeared to me to be perfectly correct, I judged them of too much consequence to be omitted.

Judea, and becoming cruel and tyrannical even among his own people, in consequence of his disappointment, was slain by his two eldest sons, *Adramelech* and *Sharezar*, while worshipping in the house of his god *Nisroch*. The parricides having fled, *Esarhaddon*, the third son, assumed the reins of government in the Assyrian empire. 2 Kings xix, 37; 1 Chron. xxxii, 21; Isa. xxxviii, 38. After he had fully settled his authority in Babylon, he began to set his heart on the recovery of what had been lost to the empire of the Assyrians, in Syria and Palestine, on the destruction of his father's army in Judea. Having gathered together a great army, he marched into the land of Israel, and took captive all those who were the remains of the former captivity, (a few excepted who escaped into the mountains, &c.,) and carried them away into Babylon and Assyria. As the land was in danger of becoming entirely desolate through lack of inhabitants, he brought colonies from *Babylon*, *Cutha*, *Ava*, *Hamath*, and *Sepharvaim*, and established them in the cities of Samaria, instead of those whom he had carried into captivity. 2 Kings xvii, 24; Ezra iv, 2, 10. And thus the *ten* tribes which had separated from the house of David were brought to an utter destruction, and could never afterward assume any political consequence.

It appears that some considerable time must have elapsed from the captivity of the Israelites of Samaria, before the above heathen colonies were brought in; for we find immedi-

ately on their settling they were much infested with lions, commissioned by the Lord to be a scourge to these idolaters, 2 Kings xvii, 25; and which, we may suppose, had multiplied greatly after the desolation of the land. The king of Babylon being told that it was because they worshipped not the God of the country, that they were plagued with these ferocious animals, ordered that one of the captive Jewish priests should be sent back, to teach these new settlers *the manner of the God of the land*, 2 Kings v, 26; *i. e.*, how to worship the God of Israel, as it was an ancient opinion among the heathens, that each district and country had its peculiar and tutelary deities. A priest was accordingly sent back, who took up his residence at *Beth-el*, and there established the worship of the true God, and the heathens incorporated this worship with that which they paid to their idols. The few remaining Jews soon became miserably corrupted both in their manners and religion, and while Jehovah was feared because of his supposed superior influence in that land, all the other gods of the Babylonians, Cuthites, Hamathites, Avites, and Sepharvites, had divine honour paid to them.

This monstrous mixture of idolatry with the worship of the true God continued for about three hundred years, till the building of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, by Sanballat the Horonite, about A. M. 3595, B. C. 409. As the Jewish priesthood had been greatly corrupted by impure connections

and heathenish alliances, Sanballat found no difficulty to procure a priest, a regular descendant of the house of Aaron, to officiate in the schismatical temple which he had lately erected; for one of the sons of *Joiada* the high priest, whom Josephus calls *Manasseh*, (Antiq. b. xi, c. vii,) having married the daughter of Sanballat, and refusing to separate from her when *Nehemiah* insisted on all the Jews to put away their strange wives or to depart the country, Manasseh fled to Samaria, and there became high priest of the temple on Mount Gerizim, built by his father-in-law. Samaria now became a common asylum for refractory Jews; for all who had violated the law by eating forbidden meats, &c., and were called to account for it, fled to the Samaritans, by whom they were kindly received; and as multitudes had apostatized in this way, in process of time the major part of the people were made up of apostate Jews and their descendants. This soon brought about a general change in the religion of the country; for as they had hitherto worshipped the God of Israel only in conjunction with their false gods, after a temple was built among them, in which the daily service was constantly performed in the very same manner as in Jerusalem, and the law of Moses brought to Samaria and there publicly read, they abandoned the worship of their idols, and became wholly conformed to the worship of the true God, in which they have hitherto continued with undeviating exactness; being

in many respects more conscientious than the Jews themselves. (Prideaux Connect. vol. i, p. 42, &c.; vol. ii, p. 588, &c.) The Jews, however, considering them as *apostates*, hate them worse than any other nation; and the Samaritans consider the Jews their worst and most inveterate enemies.

It is necessary to observe that, as out of Samaria no prophet arose after this time, and the Jewish prophets having inveighed strongly against the Samaritan corruptions, they have never received the prophetical writings of the Hebrews, and have none of their own; so that all they acknowledge of the Jewish Scriptures to be divine is the five books of Moses, which they have in the most scrupulous and conscientious manner preserved till the present day; and to them the republic of letters is obliged for the preservation of the ancient genuine Hebrew character, now called the *Samaritan*, which was thrown aside by *Ezra* when he published a connected edition of the Old Testament Scriptures, in which he used the Chaldee character, since improperly termed the *Hebrew*. (See a farther account of this in the *Bibliographical Dictionary*, vol. vii, *Succession of Sacred Literature*, under the article *Ezra*.) It is scarcely necessary to observe that the Pentateuch is printed in this ancient Hebrew character, in the first volume of the London Polyglot, and its various readings are given in a parallel column in the first volume of Dr. Kennicott's Hebrew Bible.

Having taken this general view of the rise and continuance of this remarkable sect, it may be necessary next to consider what their *present state* is, both in a religious and civil point of view.

CHAPTER IX.

A short Account of the Samaritans in Judea and Egypt.

The present state of the Samaritans in Egypt and Judea cannot be better known than from Dr. Huntington's Letters. This learned Englishman had seen them at Cairo and Napolussa, had corresponded with them, and examined them upon several things which common travellers generally omit.

"There are no Samaritans," he observes, "at Damascus; and though those of Sichem boast of their numerous brethren at Cairo, I saw there but one Samaritan and his wife, who were very poor. The synagogue is a little, nasty, and obscure chamber. Here are kept two copies of the law, which may be about five hundred years old. They have a form of prayer, and a book which they call Joshua, which contains a very short chronicle from the creation of the world to Mohammed. This false prophet is *cursed* at the end of the book, but that word is written in *Samaritan*, that the Arabians may not understand it; lastly, they keep in this little library some commentaries on the law,

written in Arabic. This is the language in common use, except when they quote any passage of the law, or write the names of their high priests, for then they use the Samaritan characters.

Those of Sichem or Napolussa are for the most part farmers of the customs, and collectors of the tribute at Sichem, Gaza, Joppa, or else are secretaries to the Bassa, which gives them some countenance. They walk the streets well enough dressed, and are not so miserable as in other places. Their principal, *Merchab ben Yacoub*, wrote to me at Jerusalem. The letters were signed by eighteen persons, which were almost all of consideration at Sichem.

This commissary of the customs was afterward obliged to retire to Leghorn, because of the persecutions he met with in the holy land. These Samaritans boast of having a copy of the law written by the hand of *Abisha*. "We have," say they in their letters, "a sacred writing; 'tis the copy of the law, in which are found these words; 'I, Abisha, the son of Phineas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the high priest, have transcribed this copy at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, in the thirteenth year of the children of Israel's entrance into the holy land, or upon the frontiers.'" The Samaritans having boasted of this copy, I was willing, in a second journey I made to Sichem, to examine the truth of the fact with my own eyes. But I turned over the manuscript long enough without finding the

words; and the Samaritans, who were present, confessed that these words were not now in their copy; that they were there formerly, but somebody had maliciously expunged them.

Thus, instead of honestly acknowledging their imposture, they face it with a new falsehood, and sacrifice their conscience to a chimerical antiquity. All the Samaritans hate the Jews mortally; for this traveller relates that they having one day asked him whether there were Hebrews in this country, they were overjoyed to hear there were; but when he went to undeceive them, because they took the Jews of England for Samaritans, they would not believe him: "No, no!" cried they, "they are Israelites, Hebrews, our most *brotherly brethren*." As they do not give the Jews the title of Hebrews, or Israelites, they think all nations do the like. And indeed they fancy that they are the only stock of ancient Israel. One of them had a design to come and see those whom he called his brethren in England; but understanding he must be upon the sea on the Sabbath, he thought it was breaking the rest of it, and would hear no more of the voyage; for they observe the Sabbath with the utmost strictness. They do not pronounce the word *Jehovah*, but make use of the word *Sema* שמא. Mr. *Ludolf*, with a great deal of reason, believed it to be the word *Shem* שם, which signifies *the* NAME, by way of eminence. What is more surprising is, that the Christians of Egypt do the same thing, never pronouncing the word *Phta*, which is the

name the Egyptians gave God, to signify that he did every thing without fraud, with art and truth. But they call God *Ebrudi*.

" Their notions of the Messiah are very confused and very different; but they always speak honourably of him, and they do not declaim much against those that worship him. Their hatred to the other Jews makes them more moderate perhaps to the Christians."

To omit nothing that concerns the religion of the Samaritans, I shall here add the confession of faith which the high priest, *Eleazar*, sent to *Scaliger*, in the name of the synagogue of *Sichem*, which that great man consulted.

" 1. The Samaritans observe the Sabbath with all the exactness required in Exodus. For none of them goes out of the place where he is on the Sabbath day, but only to go to the synagogue, where they read the law and sing God's praises. They do not sleep that night with their wives, and neither kindle, nor order fire to be kindled; whereas the Jews transgress the Sabbath in all these points. For they go out of town, have fire made, sleep with their wives, and even do not make use of proper ablutions.

" 2. They hold the *passover* to be their first festival. They begin at sunset by the sacrifice enjoined for that purpose in Exodus. But they sacrifice nowhere but on Mount *Gerizim*, where they read the law, and offer prayers unto God, after which the priest dismisses the whole congregation with a blessing.

" 3. They celebrate for seven days together

the *feast of the harvest;* but they do not agree with the Jews concerning the day on which it should begin. For these reckon the next day after the solemnity of the passover; whereas the Samaritans reckon fifty days, beginning the next day after the Sabbath, which happens in the week of unleavened bread; and the next day after the seventh Sabbath following, the feast of the harvest begins.

"4. They observe the *feast of expiation* the tenth of the seventh month. They employ the four-and-twenty hours of the day in prayers to God, and singing his praises, and fasting. For all except sucking children fast; whereas the Jews except children under seven years of age.

"5. The fifteenth of the same month they celebrate the *feast of the tabernacles* upon the same Mount *Gerizim*.

"6. They never defer *circumcision* farther than the eighth day, as it is commanded in Genesis; whereas the Jews sometimes defer it longer.

"7. They are obliged to wash themselves in the morning, when they have slept with their wives, or have contracted any defilement in the night; and all vessels that may become unclean are defiled when any such unclean person touches them.

"8. They take away the fat from sacrifices, and give the priests the *shoulder*, the *jaws*, and *belly*.

"9. They never marry their *neices* as the Jews do, and have but *one wife;* whereas the Jews may have many.

"10. They believe in *God*, in *Moses*, and Mount *Gerizim*. Whereas the Jews put their trust in others. We do nothing, say they, but what is expressly commanded in the law by the Lord, who made use of the ministry of Moses. But the Jews swerve from what the Lord hath commanded in the law, to observe what their fathers and doctors have invented."

Thus far their creed sent to *Scaliger*. *They* say that Dr. Huntington persuaded them they had brethren at London; but *he* says that the Samaritans were misled by the name of Israelites, and thought that all who went by the name of Hebrews were Samaritans. Some fraud seems to have been practised upon them relative to this subject, in order to get a copy of their law, and they certainly did intrust him with a copy of their Pentateuch, which Dr. Huntington seems to have requested from them in the name of their pretended Samaritan brethren in England: at least so I am led to understand their letter to these English Samaritans, a translation of which I subjoin from *Basnage*, that the fact may speak for itself. Indeed it is a literary curiosity, and being perfectly authentic, is worthy of particular attention.

A Letter of the Samaritans to their Brethren in England.

In the name of the almighty, adorable God; in the name of the great Lord, who is by himself, our God, the God of our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who has said in his law, "I

am the God of Bethel," the supreme God, Lord of heaven and earth, God Almighty, who has sent Moses, the son of Amram, commissioned with his laws, and by his means has revealed the holiness of Mount Gerizim, and of the house of God.

We salute you, O synagogue of Israel, the people of our Lord and Master, who has chosen this people above all nations of the earth; for you are a people holy to the Lord. We call ourselves Samaritans, and we assure you, our brethren in Israel, that we are extremely devoted to Moses the prophet, and to the holy law. We observe the Sabbath as God has commanded, for on that day nobody moves out of his place, except it be to pay his devotions at the house of the Lord. As all those who sought God went to the tabernacle of witness, we do nothing there but read the law, praise God, and pay him our thanksgivings; and whereas the *Jews* ride on horseback, go out of the city, light fires on that day, and converse with their wives: *we* separate ourselves the night of the Sabbath, and light no fire. The Jews do not wash after every kind of pollution, but *we* do, and purify ourselves thereby. We pray to God evening and morning according to the command he has given us, "You shall offer me a lamb in the morning, and another lamb between the two evenings." We lie upon the ground when we worship God before Mount Gerizim, the house of God.

We have seven solemn feasts wherein we

assemble. The first is the *feast of the passover*, at the time that our fathers came out of Egypt. We sacrifice the lamb the fourteenth day of the first month, at evening, a little before sunsetting, and eat it roasted, with unleavened bread and bitter herbs. We make this sacrifice only upon Mount Gerizim; and we prepare it on the first day of the month *Nisan*, according to the Greeks. We reckon seven days for the *feast of unleavened bread;* six whereof we eat bread without leaven. On the seventh we go early at break of day to Mount Gerizim, to celebrate the feast and read the law. When prayers are ended the priest gives the blessing to the people from the top of the eternal mountain. We do not begin to reckon the fifty days of the *feast of the harvest*, like the Jews, from the morrow of the feast of the passover, but we reckon them from the day following the Sabbath that happens in the *feast of unleavened bread*, till the morrow of the seventh Sabbath, on which we celebrate the *feast of harvest* upon Gerizim. We celebrate also the seventh month, which begins with the *feast of trumpets*. Ten days after is that of propitiations; in which we sing hymns and say prayers, from one day to the other, night and day. The women and children fast as well as the men, and we dispense with none but those that *suck;* whereas the Jews dispense with all under seven years old. We observe the feast of tabernacles upon Mount Gerizim the fifteenth of the seventh month. We set up tabernacles, according to the order given us by God, "Ye

shall take you the boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and the boughs of thick trees and willows of the brook." We spend seven days in joy under these tents, and on the eighth we end the feast of the Lord with a hymn.

We very circumspectly observe whether the conjunction of the sun and moon happen in the night, or in the day before noon. If it happen before noon, that day is the first of the month; but if it happen at twelve o'clock, or a little after, we delay the beginning of the month till the morrow. If the conjunction be *lunar*, the month continues twenty-nine days, but thirty if it be *solar*. If the new moon falls on the eleventh of the month *Adar* of the Greeks, we intercalate a month, and reckon thirteen that year. And the month that immediately follows is the first month of the year. But if the month begins on the twelfth of Adar or some days after, then that is the first month of the year, and we reckon but twelve; for the week of unleavened bread must be in the month *Nisan*. The Jews reckon otherwise than we; we begin the sabbatic year and the jubilee from the first day of the seventh month.

We sprinkle the water of separation the third and fourth days, upon all that are defiled by the contact of women, and we sprinkle it seven days upon the woman who has an issue upon her. The woman who is delivered of a boy separates only forty-one days; and eighty if it be a girl: the circumcision is made exactly on

the eighth day after the birth, without deferring it one single day, as do the Jews. We purify ourselves from the defilements contracted in sleep, and we touch none of the unclean things specified in the law without washing in clean water. We offer to God the fat of the victim, and give the priest the shoulder, the jaw, and the ventricle.

It is not lawful for us to marry a niece, or a cousin, as is done by the Jews. We believe in Moses, and in Mount Gerizim. We have priests of the race of Levi, descended in a right line from Aaron and Phineas. We are all of the tribe of Joseph, by Ephraim, Manasses; and of the tribe of Levi. Our habitation is in the holy city of Sichem, and at Gaza; we have a copy of the law, written in the time of grace, in which we read these words: *I, Abisha, the son of Phineas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, have written this copy at the door of the tabernacle, in the thirteenth year of the people of Israel's entrance into the land of Canaan, upon its frontiers.* We read this law in Hebrew, which is the holy tongue, and do nothing but according to the commands of God, given us by Moses, the son of Amram, our prophet, upon whom be peace for ever and ever. We give you notice, you that are our brethren, children of Israel, that R. Huntington, an uncircumcised man, is arrived here from Europe, and has acquainted us that you are a great people, composed of men pure and holy like ourselves, and that you have sent him to desire

of us a copy of the law; to whom we would not give credit till he had written before us some characters of the holy language; in order to assure you that we have the same Mosaic religion that you profess, and if we had not been willing to oblige you, we should not have sent a copy of the law by the hands of the uncircumcised, for that is a reproach to us. Nevertheless we have committed it to him, with two other little books, that we might not absolutely deny your request. We also conjure you in the name of the living God not to deny ours, and to tell us what religion you are of? Tell, us what is the language you speak, the city you live in, the king that governs you, and what religion he professes? Have ye any priests of the race of Phineas? Have ye only one priest? In the name of God tell us the truth, without any shadow of dissimulation; and send us a copy of the law, as we have sent you ours. Send us also some learned men, some prophets, some persons of repute, and especially some descendant of Phineas; for know that God has chosen us children of Israel to be his people, and to live at Gerizim, according to what he has said, Ye shall seek their habitation, and shall go there. He has said also, You shall keep three feasts every year; the males shall rejoice three times a year before the Lord. Know, also, that all the prophets are buried in the territory of Sichem: our father Joseph, Eleazar, Ithamar, Phineas, Joshua, Caleb, the seventy elders, with Eldad and Medad.

If you are willing to oblige us, acquaint us whether you are devoted to Moses and his law, to Gerizim and the house of God; and send us some persons, without being concerned about the length of the journey. Do not intrust a Jew, for they hate us. If you send us any deputy, give us notice of it by some friend. If ye have the book of Joshua, and any liturgy, send us that also.

Tell us what your law is. As for us, we call the law what begins with the first word of Genesis, (בראשית) and ends with the last of Deuteronomy, (ישראל.) Cause all this to be copied for us in the holy tongue, and tell us by what name you go? We adjure you by the name of the living God not to suffer a year to run over your heads without giving us an answer. In the meantime, we bless God, the Lord of heaven and earth, and we implore his mercy and his justice, to instruct you in all that can please him, and to guide you in the good way, *amen*. May he preserve you and deliver you from the hands of your enemies, and gather you together from your dispersions into the land of your fathers, through the merits of Moses. We add that this is our faith: we believe in God, in Moses his servant, in the holy law, in Mount Gerizim, the house of God, and in the day of vengeance and peace. Blessed for ever be our God, and let his peace rest upon Moses, the son of Amram, the righteous, perfect, pure, and faithful prophet. We have written this letter at Sichem, near Gerizim, the

15th day of the sixth month, which is the 27th day of the lunar month, in the 6111th year of the creation of the world, according to the Greeks; the second from the year of rest. This year the seventh month will begin the fourth of Elul, according to the Greeks; and the next year is the 3411th from the entrance into the land of Canaan. God be blessed.

May this letter by the help of God arrive into the city England, to the synagogue of the Samaritan children of Israel, whom God preserve. It is written by the synagogue of Israel dwelling at Sichem. "Mechab, the son of Jacob, a descendant of Ephraim, the son of Joseph, was the secretary."

The Samaritan Pentateuch, which it appears from the above that the Rev. Mr. Huntington (then chaplain to the Turkey company at Aleppo, and afterward bishop of Rapho, in Ireland) had requested from them in the name of the Samaritans dwelling in England, is Cod. 65 in Kennicott's collection. Mr. H. had made it a present to Abp. Marsh. It seems it had been highly prized by its Samaritan possessor; for, says Mr. Huntington, in an epistle to Ludolf, *he had it in his bosom, suspended from his neck.* Kennicott supposes it to have been written about the middle of the thirteenth century. The 33d and 34th chapters of Deuteronomy are supplied in this manuscript by *Marcab ben Yacoub*, the writer of the above epistle. The manuscript is in the 12mo form.

In the year 1790 I met with "an epistle

from the Samaritans at Sichem to the Samaritans of England," in Marsh's Library, St. Patrick's, Dublin, neatly written in a very legible Samaritan character upon paper; it is probably the same with that mentioned above: I began to transcribe it as a curiosity, but could not find opportunity to finish it. It is directed in the following manner:—

לארת בני ישראל השמרים השכנים בעיר
אנגלנד:

Laedeth benee yisrael hashemereem hashokeneem baair angeland:

"To the congregation of the children of Israel, the Samaritans dwelling in the city England." I mention this circumstance here, that any of the literati who are curious in oriental matters may know the residence of such a curiosity, and consult it when opportunity may offer. If my recollection be correct, a part of the epistle is accompanied with a Latin translation.

For farther information relative to this people, I must refer the reader to Prideaux's Connections, as quoted above; to *Ludolf's* and *Huntington's Letters*, and to *Basnage's History of the Jews*. Whether any remains of this very ancient sect of mongrel Jews be now in existence at Sichem or elsewhere, I have not been able to learn.

CHAPTER X.

State of the Modern Jews—Their Liturgy.

THERE is some reason to fear that many Jews in the present day have drunk deeply into the infidel spirit of the times, and no longer receive the writings of the Old Testament as *divinely inspired*. A Jewish rabbi, a man of extensive information, and considerable learning, lately observed to me that, "as Moses had to do with a grossly ignorant, stupid, and headstrong people, he was obliged to have recourse to a pious fraud, and pretended that the laws he gave them were sent to him by the Creator of all things: and that all the ancient legislators and formers of new states, who had a barbarous people to govern, were obliged to act in the same way, such as Menu, Numa, Lycurgus, Mohammed, &c.; and that the time was *very near at hand*, when all the inhabitants of the civilized world would be of *one religion*, viz., DEISM, which, he said, was a system of *truth*, compounded from Judaism, Mohammedanism, Christianity, and the writings of the ancient heathen philosophers!" When I expressed my surprise at hearing a *Jew* talk thus, and asked him if any of his brethren were of the same mind, he answered with considerable emotion, "Yes, every intelligent Jew in Europe who reflects on the subject is of the same mind." If this rabbi's testimony be true, the children of Jacob are deplorably fallen indeed!

And from the *manner* in which they conduct what they call *the worship of God*, who would suppose they either credit his word, or believe in his existence? It cannot be called even a *solemn mockery;* the *irreligion* of it is too barefaced to have any pretensions to *solemnity*, or, indeed, even to *decorum*.*

Having brought the work thus far, I think it proper to conclude the whole with some account of the Jewish liturgy.

In former times their synagogue service was composed of *prayers*, *reading the Scriptures* and *expounding them*. At present the latter is not generally regarded. At first their prayers were short and simple. Our Lord's prayer is a model of this kind, and seems to have been taken from some of the Jewish forms extant in his time: at least, every petition of it is found in the ancient Jewish writings: but even then there were some hypocritical Pharisees who made *long prayers*, and these our Lord most cuttingly reprehends. The liturgy of the mo-

* A friend of mine went into the synagogue, in Duke's Place, Houndsditch, London, to observe the method in which they conducted their worship; happening to come near a Jew who was deeply engaged in loudly chanting his part of the sacred office, he unfortunately trod on his toes; he instantly suspended his reading, and with a countenance as fierce as a tiger, cried, "—— your eyes, can't you see?" and then recollecting his piety anew, he immediately resumed his sacred employment, and with the *same devotion* as before continued to accompany his brethren, having lost but about *two seconds* in pronouncing his execration.

dern Jews is greatly increased in size, which makes their synagogue service long and tedious, and the rubric by which they regulate it is very intricate, perplexed, and encumbered with many rites and ceremonious observances; in all of which, says Dr. Prideaux, they equal if not exceed both the superstition and length of the popish service. (Maimonides in Tephillah.; and Prideaux's Con. vol. ii, p. 538.)

The most solemn part of their *prayers are* those which they call שמונה עשרה *Shemoneh Esreh: i. e.*, The *eighteen prayers.** These, they say, were composed by *Ezra* and the *great synagogue:* and to them *Rab. Gamaliel*, a little before the destruction of Jerusalem, added the *nineteenth* against the Christians, who are intended under the names of *apostates* and *heretics*. These prayers are allowed to be very ancient, for mention is made of them in the *Mishnah*, (*Berachoth*, c. iv, s. 3,) as old settled forms; and they were doubtless (at least the major part of them) used in our Saviour's time. (See Prideaux.) That which was formerly the *nineteenth* prayer is now the *twelfth* in the order in which they stand in the Jewish liturgies. The first part, or rather the *precatory* part of each article, was pronounced by the priest: the last or *eucharistical* part was the response of the people.

* The 10th, 11th, 14th, and 17th, seem to refer to the destruction of Jerusalem; and, consequently, to have been composed *after* that period. Yet it is probable that these may refer to the calamities of more ancient times.

" 1. Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the great God, powerful and tremendous, the high God, bountifully dispensing benefits, the Creator and possessor of the universe, who rememberest the good deeds of our fathers, and in thy love sendest a Redeemer to those who are descended from them, for thy name's sake, O King, our Lord and helper, our Saviour and our shield. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art the shield of Abraham.

" 2. Thou, O Lord, art powerful for ever, thou raisest the dead to life, and art mighty to save; thou sendest down the dew, stillest the winds, and makest the rain to come down upon the earth, and sustainest with thy beneficence all that are therein; and of thy abundant mercy makest the dead again to live. Thou raisest up those who fall; thou healest the sick; thou loosest them who are bound, and makest good thy word of truth to those who sleep in the dust. Who is to be compared to thee, O thou Lord of might! and who is like unto thee, O our King, who killest and makest alive, and makest salvation to spring as the grass in the field! Thou art faithful to make the dead to rise again to life. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who raisest the dead again to life!

" 3. Thou art holy, and thy name is holy, and thy saints do praise thee every day, selah. For a great King and a holy art thou, O God. Blessed art thou, O Lord God most holy!

" 4. Thou of thy mercy givest knowledge unto men, and teachest them understanding: give graciously unto us knowledge, wisdom, and understanding. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who graciously givest knowledge unto men!

" 5. Bring us back, O our Father, to the observance of thy law, and make us to adhere to thy precepts, and do thou, O our King, draw us near to thy worship, and convert us to thee by perfect repentance in thy presence. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who vouchsafest to receive us by repentance!

" 6. Be thou merciful unto us, O our Father, pardon us, O our King, for we have transgressed against thee. For thou art a God, good and ready to pardon. Blessed art thou, O Lord most gracious, who multipliest thy mercies in the forgiveness of sins!

" 7. Look, we beseech thee, upon our afflictions. Be thou on our side in all our contentions, and plead thou our cause in all our litigations; and make haste to redeem us with a perfect redemption for thy name's sake. For thou art our God, our King, and a strong Redeemer. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel!

" 8. Heal us, O Lord our God, and we shall be healed; save us, and we shall be saved. For thou art our praise. Bring unto us sound health, and a perfect remedy for all our infirmities, and for all our griefs, and for all our wounds. For thou art a God who healest, and art merciful. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who curest the diseases of thy people Israel!

"9. Bless us, O Lord our God, in every work of our hands; and bless unto us the seasons of the year, and give us the dew and the rain to be a blessing unto us, upon the face of all our land, and satiate the world with thy blessings, and send down moisture upon every part of the earth that is habitable. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who givest thy blessing to the years!

"10. Gather us together by the sound of the great trumpet, to the enjoyment of our liberty, and lift up thy ensign to call together all the captivity, from the four quarters of the earth into our own land. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest together the exiles of the people of Israel!

"11. Restore unto us our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning; and remove far from us affliction and trouble, and do thou only reign over us in benignity, and in mercy, and in righteousness, and in justice. Blessed art thou, O Lord our King, who lovest righteousness and justice!

"12. *Let there be no hope to them who apostatize from the true religion; and let heretics, how many soever there be, all perish as in a moment. And let† the kingdom of pride be speedily rooted out and broken in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who de-

* This is the prayer which was added by Rabbi Gamaliel against the Christians, or, as others say, by Rabbi Samuel the little, who was one of his scholars.

† The Roman empire.

stroyest the wicked, and bringest down the proud!

" 13. Upon the pious and the just, and upon* the proselytes of justice, and upon the remnant of thy people of the house of Israel, let thy mercies be moved, O Lord our God, and give a good reward unto all who faithfully put their trust in thy name, and grant us our portion with them, and for ever let us not be ashamed, for we put our trust in thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art the support and confidence of the just!

" 14. Dwell thou in the midst of Jerusalem thy city, as thou hast promised; build it with a building to last for ever, and do this speedily even in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who buildest Jerusalem!

" 15. Make the offspring of David thy servant speedily to grow up, and flourish, and let our horn be exalted in thy salvation. For we hope for thy salvation every day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest the horn of our salvation to flourish!

" 16. Hear our voice, O Lord our God: most merciful Father, pardon and have mercy

* The proselytes of justice were such as received the whole Jewish law, and conformed in all things to their religion. Other proselytes there were who conformed only to the seven precepts of the sons of Noah, and these were called proselytes of the gate, because they worshipped only in the outer court of the temple, and were admitted no farther than the gate leading into the inner courts. Of all these we have already spoken, pp. 99, 261.

upon us, and accept of our prayers with thy mercy and favour, and send us not away from thy presence, O our King. For thou hearest with mercy the prayer of thy people Israel. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer!

" 17. Be thou well pleased, O Lord our God, with thy people Israel, and have regard unto their prayers; restore thy worship to* the inner part of thy house, and make haste with favour and love to accept of the burnt-sacrifices of Israel, and their prayers; and let the worship of Israel thy people be continually well pleasing unto thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest thy divine presence to Zion!

" 18. We will give thanks unto thee with praise. For thou art the Lord our God, the God of our fathers for ever and ever. Thou art our rock, and the rock of our life, and the shield of our salvation. To all generations will we give thanks unto thee, and declare thy praise, because of our life which is always in thy hands, and because of thy signs, which are every day with us, and because of thy wonders, and marvellous loving kindnesses, which are

* *i. e.* The adytum templi, which in the temple of Jerusalem was the holy of holies, into which none ever entered but the high priest once a year, on the great day of expiation. From this place, after the Babylonish captivity, were wanting the ark, the mercy seat, the shechinah of the divine presence and the Urim and Thummim, which causing an imperfection in their worship in respect of what it was formerly, a restoration of them seems to be what is prayed for in this place.

morning, and evening, and night, before us. Thou art good, for thy mercies are not consumed; thou art merciful, for thy loving kindnesses fail not. For ever we hope in thee. And for all these mercies be thy name, O King, blessed, and exalted, and lifted up on high for ever and ever; and let all that live give thanks unto thee. Selah. And let them in truth and sincerity praise thy name, O God of our salvation, and our help. Selah. Blessed art thou, O Lord, whose name is good, and to whom it is fitting always to give praise.

"19. Give peace, beneficence, benediction, grace, benignity, and mercy unto us, and to Israel thy people. Bless us, our Father, even all of us together as one man, with the light of thy countenance. For in the light of thy countenance hast thou given unto us, O Lord our God, the law of life, and love, and benignity, and righteousness, and blessing, and mercy, and life, and peace. And let it seem good in thine eyes to bless thy people Israel with thy peace at all times, and in every moment. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest thy people Israel with peace. *Amen.*"

"God hath given them the spirit of slumber; eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear unto this day.

"Behold the *goodness* and *severity* of God; on them who fell *severity*, but toward the

goodness, if thou continue in his goodness, otherwise *thou* also shalt be *cut off*.

" Blindness *in part* is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so, ALL ISRAEL SHALL BE SAVED : for there shall come out of Zion the DELIVERER, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob," *Paul*, Rom. xi.

Aspice, VENTURO *lætentur ut omnia* SECLO :
O mihi tam longæ maneat pars ultima vitæ,
Spiritus et quantum sat erit tua dicere facta!
TALIA SECLA CURRITE !*

* Virg. Bucol. iv.

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